

C. THE JS
HISTORY
OF
DARIEN.

Giving a short Description of that COUNTRY,
an Account of the attempts of the SCOTCH
NATION to settle a COLONY in that
Place, a Relation of the many Tragical Di-
fasters which attended that Design; with some
Practical REFLECTIONS upon the whole.

By the REV. MR. FRANCIS BORLAND, some-
time Minister of the Gospel at GLASSFORD; and one
of the Ministers who went along with the last Colony
to DARIEN.

Written mostly in the Year 1700, While the AUTHOR
was in the AMERICAN REGIONS.—To which is
added, A LETTER to his PARISHONERS.

*Quaque ipse Miserrima vidi,
—Hac olim meminisse juvabit.*

DEUT. viii. 2. 15, 16.—*Thou shalt remember all the way,
which the Lord thy God led thee, thro' that great and terri-
ble wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to
do thee good at thy latter end.*

GLASGOW:

Printed by JOHN BRYCE;
And Sold at his Shop opposite Gibson's-Wynd,
SALTMARKET. 1779.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reverend FRANCIS BORLAND, author of the following narrative, son to Mr. John Borland of Crosshouse in the parish of East-Kilbryde, was settled minister of Glassford, a little after the Revolution. In that parish he was greatly beloved. In 1699, he and three other ministers, upon an appointment of the commission of the General Assembly, went along with the last Scotch Colony to Darien. After many dangers and hardships which he has particularly described, surviving far the greatest part of his associates in that unfortunate expedition, he returned to Glassford, where he continued to exercise the ministry till his death, which happened in 1722.

HE was very diligent in the work of the ministry. Glassford parish was of great length, and the kirk situated at one end of it: A circumstance on account of which there were few months that he did not preach one or two week days in some part of the parish that was far from the ordinary place of publick worship. He catechized his people once at least in the year. He used to begin his diets of examination at the further end of the parish. And whoever was hindered from attending at one diet, had to attend at the next.

IN the following narrative, Mr. Borland describes what he felt and what he saw. No eloquence is so genuine

ADVERTISEMENT

genuine as that which flows from experience. Tho' very little art appears in the composition, there is such a variety of observations on the natural history of Darien, on the politics of the Scotch at that time, on the dispensations of providence, and on the depravity of the human heart, as must edify and entertain every attentive reader.

THE subject of this publication is important, if an affair that engaged the attention of the whole nation is allowed to be so. Very much like the fatal South Sea Scheme in 1720, it was a bubble that occasioned many vain hopes and many great losses. "The people of Scotland," says Bishop Burnet, "lost almost two hundred thousand pounds sterling upon the project, besides all the imaginary treasure they had promised themselves from it." The miscarriage of this undertaking was partly imputed to King William's aversion to it; who, convinced, it seems, that the settlement of a Scotch Colony in Darien would be contrary to his treaties with Spain, had sent orders, secretly indeed, to the English plantations, to have no intercourse with the Scotch colonists at Darien. Whatever were the political causes of so great a disappointment, the effects were evident. The nation was impoverished; the complaints of the people against the English were louder than usual; and the patriotic speakers in the Parliament, such as Mr. Fletcher of Salton and Lord Belhaven, employed their eloquence in laying open the artifice and injustice that were practised by the English in opposing that enterprise. Lord Belhaven, in his noted speech against the treaty of an incorporating Union mentions this affair in the following manner. "The first notice the English seemed to take of us was in our affair of Caledonia. When they had effectually ruined that design, in a manner very well known to the world, they kept themselves quiet during the time of our complaints on that head."

THIS

IV ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS little history suggests a very seasonable admonition to the inhabitants of these lands, at a time when the most alarming aspect of providence seems hardly to give any check to abounding iniquity. The Lord is manifesting his great displeasure with us; powerful foreign enemies threaten us; our dissensions at home are likely to render us an easy prey to them: but still, among all the expedients that the directors of our public affairs propose for bettering our condition, there is not one with respect to a national reformation. The language of this narrative is, *Nay, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* Let us remember the fate of these colonists, whose wickedness was no less than their misfortunes.

GLASGOW, }
Nov. 3d, 1779. }

P R E-

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

THE Author of these following Memoirs having been an Eye-witness of many of the tragical passages of Providence, and exercised with a share of the many calamities that befel his countrymen abroad, in the wilderness and on the sea, was the more capable to give an account of particulars relating to the design of Caledonia. And what passages he did not see himself, these he relates as he had them delivered by credible persons, who were Eye-witnesses of them when they occurred. And the Author being the only person of all the ministers who were sent abroad upon the service of Caledonia, that lived to return to his native country; he reckoneth himself, upon that account, the more concerned to preserve the memory of this following history; both for his own instruction many ways, as also for the satisfaction of others, who may desire to be impartially informed of these matters, as they happened. He being in this case, not unlike one of Job's servants and messengers, remarkably preserved from the general calamities, that he may in some sense say, *I only am escaped alone to tell thee*: There being several particulars in this ensuing account, and these not unworthy of remembrance, which none now alive, are capable to give a relation of, besides himself.

THE Readers of this Narrative will come by a cheap and easy knowledge of these many dismal occurrences

currences of providence, beyond what the writer, with many others who saw and felt them, and had their share therein, did meet with, and had the trial of. Which, if they will duly consider it, must needs stir up bowels of pity and commiseration, toward such as they may perceive have been so afflicted and distressed; and humble thanksgiving to God for his distinguishing goodness toward themselves, beyond what some of their Countrymen have met with; besides other useful instructions, which they may learn hence, and are in part hinted at in these following Memoirs and reflections thereupon.

MOREOVER, the Author of this relation reckons himself deeply obliged in point of gratitude to his great preserver and deliverer, to preserve and leave this following account, as some token and monument of his humble gratitude to the Lord God of his Salvation, for the many wonders of his mercy, distinguishing favour, and gracious conduct of fatherly Providence toward himself, beyond many others stronger and better than he. That the Lord who *leads the blind in a way they know not*, led him by a right way, guided him by many sad calamities and ruining disasters, was his *healer in trouble*, gave his angels charge over him to keep him in all his ways, and underneath were the everlasting arms: and, *When he cried unto the Lord in trouble, he heard him and delivered him from his destructions*, and as his day was, so he made his strength to be, and at length returned him to his own country.— Here therefore he desires to set up his EBENEZER. Psal. cvii. 8. *Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!*

THE

THE HISTORY OF DARIEN;

Giving a Description of that COUNTRY, an Account of the ATTEMPTS of the COMPANY OF SCOTLAND to Settle a COLONY in that Place, and a Relation of some of the many Tragical Disasters which attended that DESIGN.

DARIEN is a Country of the West-Indies, upon the main continent of America, situate upon that famous isthmus which joins the great Peninsulas of north and south America into one great continent. This isthmus is sometimes called the isthmus of Darien, sometimes the isthmus of Panama, from the name of the chief city therein; and more anciently it went by the name of Terra-firma, because it was the first main land of America, discovered by the Spaniards. That spot of it which the Scots settled upon, and named CALEDONIA, is situate toward the southerly part of this isthmus, distant about sixteen leagues from the gulph of Darien, or gulph of Uraba, lying south-east from it, its latitude is about eight degrees northerly. To the north it hath Jamaica, distant from it about 200 leagues: To the eastward it hath Carthagena, about 50 leagues off: And to the westward, Portobello upon the north-side of this isthmus about 40 leagues, and Panama on the south-side, at some further distance; and to the south-ward lyeth Sancta-Maria about 20 leagues. So that the Spanish settlements were neighbouring to it on all hands, save

the north : And indeed it was the great unhappiness of our new colony, that it was planted too near such bad neighbours, our utter enemies, too many and too strong for us, to have to do withal, in our weak and infant state.

It is a country most partly mountainous and hilly, and that even to the shore, which lieth along south-east and north-west ; the mountains extend themselves in ridges parallel with the shore, the lower ridge of mountains being next to the shore, and this ridge again backed and intercepted with a higher ridge of mountains running parallel with the former, with interjacent valleys and marshes between them ; and so successively, the farther inlands you go, still the ridges of mountains ascend the higher. Accordingly I find Geographers generally describing this whole American isthmus, to be full of mountains and marshes, and its air to be continually cloudy and dark, and very hot withal, which renders it very unhealthy, especially in the wet season, from April to November inclusively.

The country is wholly clad with thick and tall woods, being a continued forrest, as the most part of America is : The trees here are many of them of a vast bigness, some we observed to be of five, six, and seven fathoms about ; and nearer the shore, we perceived the trees to be bigger than farther up the country. The woods here are in some places very thick, entangled and interwoven with withes, so that it is very difficult and uneasy travelling thro' them ; many of the mountains are very steep and sharp, and narrow at the top, much resembling the ridge of a house : the valleys for the most part about this place are not very broad between the mountains ; but by the banks of the little rivers of Acla the greater, and Acla the lesser, there is a pretty considerable bounds of valley and plain ground.

The soil in these parts about our settlement, is generally a strong deep earth and clayey, intermixed with

with sand in some places, and if subdued and cultivated, would be abundantly fertile of all that is proper for this climate. Along the shore here, the coast is generally rocky, with a mixture of rocks, which they call *Coral Rocks*, among which also are some pleasant bays of sand, scattered up and down. One thing observable we remarked near the place of our fort, That the roots of trees cut down sometime ago, seemed to be petrified and turned into stone, resembling the nature of the rocks by the seaside, and retaining withal the marks and likeness of the grain of the wood in them.

It was a spot of low ground where our men settled and built their Fort; a sort of earth mixed with sand. It was wet marshy ground about it in the rainy season. Adjacent to the Fort, there was about the space of half a mile level ground, and then the hills ascended to the east and north-east. To the south-east of the Fort lay the Bay, which was the road and harbour for their ships. This Bay is about three miles deep, and about half a mile broad, and in some places broader. The entry into this harbour was difficult and dangerous by reason of rocks that lay near the middle of the channel; and it was the more difficult and hard getting out of it, by reason of the winds blowing right into it, through the whole dry season. The neck or Pen-insula of land, which made the Bay, was but narrow, about a mile over, where broadest: and at the head of the Bay, far narrower, scarce half a mile over: And it is about three miles in length. This neck of land is from end to end, generally all hilly and very irregular ground. The hills here, as well as the valleys, are all covered with tall and thick woods, and some of the hills are clayey ground even to the top, and afford free stone.

Westward from our Fort about eight miles, by the banks of the rivers of Acla the greater, and Acla the lesser. Over against Prandies Bay, there is a plea-

pleasant tract of plain ground, and among the woods hereabout, are many Orange-trees to be found, from which our men used to fetch Oranges, while we abode in Caledonia.

The watering-place belonging to our Fort, was but a small rivulet, and almost half a mile distant therefrom, which was a great disadvantage to our men in this place, especially when the Spaniards by land approached our Fort, and intercepted our watering-place from us; for any water which we could dig for within the Fort, was but brackish and unwholesome.

It is pretty remarkable that the Trade winds have not their due and ordinary course upon this coast of Darien, as they have in the other southern coasts of America: For whereas upon other coasts, and even some leagues to the north-ward of Darien, the true Trade wind blows ordinarily about east. Here in Darien, the wind is variable sometimes at north, and sometimes at north-west; and in the wet time, often at south and south-east. The reason seems to be, because this coast lies toward the entrance of a deep Bay, and because of the high mountains on the sides thereof, which may possibly mar the course of the true Trade wind. And on this account also it is, that our harbour of Caledonia was none of the most commodious; for ships could easily get into it, but not so easily get out again; because in the dry time, the wind here is ordinarily about north, and so blows right into the harbour; so that ships, especially of a greater bulk, can hardly then get out. This, that French ship that came into this harbour, in the time of the first colony, found to her cost; when endeavouring to get out, she was forced upon the rocks on the west side of this Bay, and broken to pieces, and several of her men lost.

The different seasons of the year in this place, are the wet time and dry. The wet, or rainy season, begins ordinarily about the latter end of March,

or

or beginning of April, and continues till the latter end of November. The rains here are sometimes very heavy, and last several days together, being accompanied with much thunder and lightening. This wet season is the most sickly time of the year, which is probably caused through the great stillness and calmness of the air in this time, whence proceed sulphureous damps and vapours, arising from the marshy and drowned ground, which render it very unhealthy, especially to strangers.

The dry season of the year begins with December, and lasts till about the latter end of March, then rain is seldom, especially near the shore, and the ground parched and dry. Then are cool, fresh breezes of wind from north and north-west, which dispel these noisome vapours, purge the air, and render it more healthy than the wet time. During this season, the heat is pretty moderate and tolerable; which may be further occasioned, because the sky in this country is cloudy for the greater part of the year, even in this dry time, whereby the hot reflections of the Sun are much allayed and abated. The best time to plant here is toward the latter end of the wet time, when the rains begin to decrease, and then follows their harvest in the dry time, especially of their Indian corn.

The Indians, who are the natives of this place, are a poor naked people, contented with their state, and seldom thoughtful for to morrow, as the Spanish historian, (Peter Martyr) observeth of them, in his *Decades*, Page 254. That they want our wanton superfluities, not having Arabian odours, perfumes and strange spices, contenting themselves with such things as naturally grow in their country; they live more cheerfully, in better health, and are more lusty and strong in their old age. They have small care to please their appetites with divers and sundry dainty meats: A little sufficeth them. And indeed there is no want in the want of superfluities.

fluties. (*Natura paucis contenta.*) They appear not to be numerous in this country. They are of a middle stature, inclining to the less, especially their women, and not so tall, lusty and numerous, as the Indians are, in other places of South America.— There were no Indians dwelling upon that neck of Land where our people settled; but about seven or eight miles distant thence, to the westward, there are several villages of Indians, by the brooks of Acla the greater and the less; as are also to the south-east of our Fort, by Caret-bay river. For generally the Indians dwell by the sides of rivers, and use often to wash themselves therein, both men and women, old and young; which they ordinarily practise both morning and evening: Being generally all both old and young, very good swimmers. They seem to be a pretty cleanly people, both in their bodies, and in dressing and eating their food, washing before they eat; though withal, they feed after a very homely manner, in eating their slabbery meat with their bare fingers, without spoons.— Their weapons are bows and arrows, and wooden swords. They practise polygamy, especially their chief men, who have some of them two or three wives together. Their women are but of little stature, and marry very young, when about twelve years of age, as it is also the custom of the Indians to do, in other parts of America. Their language is a sort of guttural speech, and difficult for strangers to pronounce. Their houses are but mean, built of timber, all open by the sides and ends, and only covered on the roof with Plantane leaves, which are broad and long, to defend from the sun and rain. Their beds are hammocks hung up by the two ends, which they make themselves of cotton wool, that grows in plenty here. When they go to sleep by night, they have commonly a fire by them, which is useful both to keep off wild beasts from them, and to drive away hurtful damps.

They

They are naturally a very slothful people, and labour but little. They subdue and plant but small parcels of land, so much as serves their present necessity; so that their habitations are but little open spaces cleared, in the midst of vast, thick, tall and solitary woods, which, like a high wall, encompasseth them round about. They may justly be compared to an Owl in the desert, and the Pelican of the wilderness, that do not see when good cometh. They do indeed inhabit the dark places of the earth, on more accounts than one. The main things which they plant and live upon, are Plantanes, whereof they make drink as well as food, Bananos, Cassavy roots, Indian corn, Potatoes, Yams, &c. The men are much given to hunting and fishing, whereby they purchase a good part of their food. Their wives perform the most part of their drudgery work, in planting, bringing home their provisions, and dressing their food.— They have our sort of dunghill fowls about their houses. Some of the Indians wear bits of gold hung at their noses, beaten into thin plates, and ear-rings of gold. In general, they seem to be a pretty modest sort of people, considering them as wild Pagans, and are for the most part, better affected to any other nation of Europeans, than to the Spaniards.

We could not observe that they had any religious worship among them; but if they worship any thing it is the devil, whose vassals and slaves they are; for they have among them forcerers and conjurers, who in some parts of America are called *Powowes*; these they ordinarily use to consult, in their weighty and difficult cases; as for instance, if they be sick, if they be going to war against their enemies, if they would know the success of future events, &c. And indeed, sometimes the devil gives them responses, which fall out accordingly; whereof we had an experiment while we were in Caledonia; for some of

them told us, that so many ships should come into our harbour, and afterwards we should be gone for Jamaica: Which came to pass accordingly.

Their manner of smoaking Tobacco, is pretty odd: They make no use of pipes, but take the tobacco in leaves, and roll up a long twist thereof, about an ell long, leaving it hollow in the middle, and making it smaller at one end than the other; then when they desire to kindle this roll, they sit round, about a dozen of them, in a ring, this roll is fired at one end, the other end they put into their mouths, and so draw the smoke. And this roll they hand about from one to another, and when their mouths are full of smoke, they blow it into one anothers faces, going thus round the whole company.

As to what concerns the fruits and product of this country, there is little more can be said thereof, than what is common to the other West-India plantations in America: For here are to be found, Indian corn, Plantanes, Bananos, Yams, Potatoes, Cassavy roots, (whereof they make very wholesome bread, and yet, which is strange, the juice of this root when raw, is rank poison; but when boiled, becomes wholesome for use) and several other roots useful for food. Here are also good strong Sugar-canes, Cotton-wool trees, Pepper trees, such as are common to the West-Indies, Raccow or Notta trees, the fruit whereof is good for dyeing red; there are very good Pine-apples, reckoned the most delicate fruit of the Indies, and very good Melons, with Oranges also in some places, and Cocker-nut trees, Lime trees also.

As for the wild product of this country, there is a great variety of trees and shrubs, many more than Europeans know the names of; among which there are Cedar trees, Locust and Bullet trees, wild Cotton trees of a vast bigness, Cabbage trees, Palmeto trees, Maccaw trees, full of sharp prickles, like needles,

needles, Mangrove trees, that grow by the shore, and in the water, as well as out of it, with a vast number more ; where it may be observed, that generally all the fruits, trees and plants of the West-Indies, are of a quite different species from ours, in these colder European climates. It is observable also, that much of their wood in the West-Indies, is so hard and heavy, that it sinks in the water like a stone ; strangers to these parts of the world may learn here also, that these southern parts of the world enjoy a continual Summer, the woods and trees are always green, for as some leaves drop off, others are growing on. There is little variation betwixt the length of days and nights, but are almost of an equal length all the year long ; and of some fruits, they reap two crops in the year.

Concerning the Bestials of this country, there is great variety. Here are to be found many wild Hogs, and Deer in the woods, many Monkeys, Marmosites and Baboons ; here are also Tygers ; here is a beast called an Ant-Bear, because it feeds alternately upon Ants, which it doth, by shooting forth its long tongue upon an Ant hill, and when the Ants have crept in full number upon it, this creature pulls in its tongue covered with Ants, and so it lives. Here also is a remarkable creature called by the English a *Sloth*, and by the Spaniards *Pigritia* ; so named justly from the dull, sluggish nature of it, being of a very slow motion ; it is somewhat shaped like a cat, but of a larger body, and hath very long claws ; it is a great sleeper, and even when it moves, looks drowsy-like, as if it were half-sleeping. Here are also a great number of troublesome insects, especially the country is full of Ants, Woodlice and Munketas, all which are common through the West-Indies.

Here are also, great variety of Fowls, particularly, numerous flocks of Parrots, and Patakir, and

Macas; also many sorts of Sea-Fowls, particularly a large Fowl called a *Pelican*.

There is here also in the waters, both salt and fresh, great variety and plenty of Fish. Our men caught some of them, and they found them to be sweeter and better than ours at home. Here is a large creature in the waters called a *Manatee*, and by some a *sea-Cow*, because its head somewhat resembles that creature; it is of a vast bigness, and good for food. Here also, (near Golden Island) are many Sea Tortoises to be caught. This is a kind of amphibious creature, living both in the water, and on the land. They catch them in the sea with nets; and at some seasons they come a shore on sandy banks to lay their Eggs, whereof they lay near a Bushel, and then cover them in a hole which they dig in the sand, leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the Sun. At these times men watch them, and turn them upon their backs, and then they cannot recover themselves again. These Tortoises are very wholesome food, and contain several sorts of meat in them. The seamen say they have three hearts. Some of them are so large, as to suffice thirty or forty men to dine upon. There is also here to be found, another sort of these creatures, called *Land-Tortoise*, because they live mostly upon the land; but they are not so large as the sea ones. These Tortoises are in shape somewhat resembling a Frog.

As concerning Gold mines in this country, our people of the last colony did not discover any upon this spot, during their abode there: And I have heard from an old understanding Indian, Captain Pedro, that he knew of none in that place where the Scots were, but that the Gold mines were nearer the south Sea, toward Sancta Maria, and farther up the gulph of Darien.

Some may question, Whether this place of the Scots Settlement be a healthy country, yea or no,
so

so that an European colony could thrive in it upon this score? In answer whereunto, it may be remarked,

1. That our countrymen who went thither first to settle, though for some time after their arrival there, they were pretty healthy, yet afterwards proved very sickly, and many of them died.

2. Our people who went thither about a year after, were generally very sickly through the whole time of their abode there; and it proved a grave to many of them, and that even in the dry and healthiest time of the year.

3. They say that in the wet time here, even the Indians themselves are sickly, and keep their houses. And they being a people but few in number, and their wives not having many children, seems to be an indication that this is none of the healthiest climates.

4. When the Spaniards came against us in March 1700, they all gave it the character of a very sickly place, and manifested no desire to stay there.

5. After that we had left that place, and the Spaniards had taken possession of it, in a short time, they also became very sickly, and buried many of their men there, as I learned by a Jamaica sloop, that had come from thence, while our ships were lying at Jamaica.

6. *Nombre de Dios* and *Portobel*, upon the same American isthmus, are both very sickly places;—therefore the Spaniards deserted *Nombre de Dios*; and at *Portobel*, they have but a few inhabitants, mainly for the sake of the Garrison there, to defend their treasure transported thither from Panama; so that meer necessity obligeth them to keep it.

7. I have heard this place, even by old Privateers themselves reputed a very sickly place: And that when they heard of our settling there, they feared we would not thrive in that place.

8. When

8. When our people were there last, we had this experience of it, That so long as our men lodged aboard the ships, they were more healthy ; but as soon as they came ashore, and took up their abode in their huts, they became sickly, and grew daily weaker.

9. *Ogilbie*, in his history of America, Page 399. says of Darien, That though it be of a more temperate air than Panama, yet it is much infested by the unwholesomness of the air, through the many stinking damps that arise from the muddy pools ; and the inhabitants are sickly, and never attain to a great age.

10. *Collier*, in his historical Dictionary, says of Darien, That by reason of the excessive rains and unwholesome air, it is not habitable.

11. But let us hear the testimony of a more ancient author, that wrote near two hundred years ago, in the year 1514 ; that is, Peter Martyr in his *Decades*, of the first Plantations of the Spaniards in America, Chap. IX. Page 222. He saith, That upon the north shore of that American isthmus, the Spaniards have three colonies, *sancta Maria Antiqua* upon the river Darien ; and second, *Acla*, seated more westerly ; and third, *Nombre de Dios*, to the westward of the former. [But all these three are long since deserted by the Spaniards.]

Page 127, 128. He says of Darien, That the air is more pestiferous than in Sardis : the Spanish inhabitants are all pale and yellow, like them that have the yellow Jaundice ; which temper of air, saith he, cometh not so much from the places lying near the Equinoctial line, as from the particular position of this place, and the nature of the soil ; it being situate in a deep valley, and environed with hills on every side. And further also, the nature of the soil here being compassed about with muddy and stinking marshes, the infection whereof is much increased by the heat ; their habitations therefore
in

in Darien, are pernicious, unwholesome and outrageous.

Again, Page 63. He saith of Darien, That it was reported, that the air is there unwholsome, because that part of the region, lieth in a low valley, environed with mountains and marshes. Thus far *Peter Martyr*.

Another reason of the unwholesomeness of this place, may be, because as was noted above, this country lying in a Bay, and being so environed with mountains, the true Trade-winds have not their free course here; and further, in the wet time here, it is often quite calm, and then the air is most infectious.

So that it seems, it may be said of Darien, Thou, Land, devourest men, and eatest up thy inhabitants. No wonder then, though our colony neither did, nor could thrive, suppose no other enemy in the world had molested them.

This preceding account of the Natives, Animals, Fruits and Products of this climate, the Author is the better capable and able to give, because he did formerly sojourn for several years, in the southern parts of America; even in a country nearer the Equinoctial line than Caledonia in America is, viz. In the river of *Surrinam* on the coast of *Guiana*, S. Lat. 5. Deg. 10. Minutes.

THE First arrival of the Scots at Darien, with a colony, was about November 2d, 1690. They had about twelve hundred men aboard. They continued some time upon the place, before they fixed upon the particular Spot where to settle and build their Fort: At length they concluded to settle upon that corner of the neck of land that faceth highest to the entry into this road and harbour, and called it *Fort St. Andrew*: And then, (because they were alarmed with reports about the Spaniards preparations against them) they wrought the poor men very

very hard, even on the Lord's day, as well as other days.

Sometime after their arrival here, there was a French ship came into their harbour. After some stay here, the said ship endeavouring to get out again to sea, she was through the crossness of the wind, driven ashore upon the rocks on the West-side of this Bay: the ship staved to pieces, and several of the men were lost. This ship had on-board of her, some Money and Plate; concerning which I have heard some say, that were then upon the place, That some of the chief of the Caledonian officers, made their own gain, by what they could search out of the said wreck, after the surviving French were gone hence; and that this wealth which some of them acquired by this means, had evil effects upon the after success and continuance of the colony in this place.

Among other things that contributed to the ill success of this colony, this seems to have been one, that the government thereof was put into the hands of many, and not mainly entrusted with one eminent and well-qualified person. Accordingly, the evil effects hereof soon began to appear in this infant colony, for an evil spirit of division soon broke out among their counsellors and leading men, *Quot Capita, tot Sententiæ*. This caused jarrings, divisions, bitterness and misunderstandings among them: So within a while, some of their counsellors being uneasy, went off and left the place: And a selfish and private spirit and interest prevailing among them that were left behind, beyond a generous minding of the public good; all things soon began to have an evil aspect with reference to the continued settlement and prosperity of this design.

What other most remarkable occurrences did attend them while they continued in this place, and as we learned them from those who were then upon the place, were as followeth.

Soon

Soon after their arrival, the chief Indians here being friendly to them, welcomed them to settle in their country, and consented to a Grant unto them of that place and lands adjacent, our counsellors satisfying them therefore to their full content.

Captain Pincarton, in the least of their vessels, with about thirty men on board, going along the coast, toward some of the windward Islands, struck his vessel upon some rocks not far from Carthagena, whereby she became so leaky, that they were forced to run into Carthagena to save their lives, where they were made prisoners by the Spaniards, and had their vessel seized. Some of those men were afterward released, upon the capitulation made with the Spaniards on March 31st, 1700.

They had one small skirmish with some Spaniards that came down near their vicinity, either to spy their condition and strength, or to see if they could apprehend any of their straglers in the woods, or to entice the Indians to forsake our men. Our counsellors being informed of this by their friendly neighbouring Indians, sent forth about a hundred and fifty men against them, under the command of captain Montgomery; and when our men had come near the place where they darkened themselves in the thick woods, two Spaniards whom they had before apprehended, being in company with our men, and knowing where their countrymen lay hid, gave a shout; whereupon the Spaniards presently fired upon our men, killed about two, and wounded fourteen of them, the Spaniards presently retiring: so that our men never got a sight of them, because of the thickets of the woods; though our men also fired toward them, but could not tell what damage their fire had done them. Some days after, our men apprehended one of their officers, and having kept him some days a prisoner, did afterwards let him go home, accompanied with some of our men, to keep him from harm by our Indian friends, but

our men that conveyed him, were never more heard of.

They were exercised with sore sickness and mortality among their men, after they had been some time upon the place. They had about seventy men that died by the way, in their voyage hither : But they say they buried near three hundred men, during their stay here.

They had taken, and made prize of some Peria-gos with Indian corn from the Spaniards upon this coast, which proved afterwards of great use to them, when they were in a strait upon their voyage hence.

All the time of their abode here, which was upwards of seven months, they say they had never so much as one Letter or Vessel from Scotland, which was a great discouragement to them, and no good policy in our Directors at home. And it was an awful frown upon this design, the shipwreck of that Vessel which was sent from Clyde, about January 1699 ; in order to go for the colony, and it's mis-carrying in the undertaking.

They had two ministers sent along with them, viz. Mr James and Mr Scot. But as they had small comfort among them, while they were in their company ; so it pleased the Lord soon to remove them from among those that despised them and their work : For Mr James died at sea, before their arrival, and Mr Scot died shortly after their arrival.

On the 20th day of June 1699, they all dislodged, and left Darien. Concerning the causes of their deserting this place, we heard various reports : I heard by one of their counsellors, Captain Thomas Drummond, that it was because of the great sickness and mortality that raged among their men, whereby they were brought so low, that they had difficulty to find men able to stand centry, and keep the watch ; and therefore were far more unable to resist the Spaniards, with the fears of whom they were daily alarmed by the Indians. Others again said

Land at Darien Nov 2, 1698

Left it

Jan 20, 1699

Turned back then

9 years waiting 5 mon.

said that it was scarcity and want of provisions; and that the king's proclamation prohibiting trade with them from any of the English plantations, did much discourage them, and had a hand in their deserting the place. I have heard others say, that they were designed to leave the place, before ever they heard of the Proclamation. Again, I heard others confidently relate, that the private gain which some of their leading men had made to themselves out of the French wreck above-mentioned, had evil influence upon them, in making them prefer their private ends before the public cause they were engaged in: seeing they had now acquired some wealth to themselves, they were not willing to adventure themselves any longer in such uncomfortable circumstances in this wilderness, but made what dispatch they could, to get out of this spot, to a place of more accommodation, where they might spend and enjoy the comfort of their new gotten wealth.

It was also of evil consequence to this settlement, that their counsellors and chief men did not well accord among themselves: Besides, some of the best of them had gone off before, so that those who remained behind, had the more advantage and liberty now to play their own game; and they had the greater pretence also thus to do, having been so long in Caledonia, and yet never got any advice or supply from Scotland.

Which of all these forementioned causes alleged of the desertion of Caledonia, was the true and main one; or whether there was not a concurrence of several of them; or whether there might not be some other more hidden springs and secret causes thereof, I shall not take upon me to determine: But thus it came to pass, that Caledonia was forsaken, and the vast expences hitherto bestowed upon that design, were mostly lost and came to nothing; and this desertion did lay the ground of the miscarrying and defeating of whatever following recruits and supplies the company of Scotland sent un-

to this place. So great is the uncertainty and vanity of all human affairs, and the most promising-like designs of the children of men.

Sic transit gloria Mundi.

When they took farewell, and sailed from Darien, they were in all four ships together, viz., the Caledonia, the St Andrew, the Unicorn, and a Pink. But being once got out to sea, they never endeavoured to keep company, but every one made the best of his way, steering different courses, and so soon lost sight of one another. The Pink turned very leaky at sea, so that the seamen were obliged to leave her, and come aboard of another of their ships yet in their company ; so this ship was left to foundry in the sea.

The St Andrew [Captain Penny-cook her commander died at sea] had a long and dangerous passage, and at length got into Jamaica, having buried by the way above 100 of their men. They came to anchor first at Blew-fields in Jamaica, and they were so weak and disabled, that they were necessitated to hire seamen off the said island, to bring her up to Port-royal harbour in Jamaica, and there she remains in a ruinous and wreck-like condition. The Caledonia and Unicorn both got safe to New-York, after a tedious and difficult passage ; they lost at sea about 300 men. But those of them that survived, many of them recovered their health ; it being a healthy climate, far preferable to Jamaica : Whereas the poor men that went to Jamaica, fared much worse, many of them dying there. The Unicorn lies still near New-York in a ruinous condition : But the Caledonia, at length, with the help of the Unicorn's men, got safely home to Scotland, as we understood afterwards. This was the unprosperous fate of these ships and company concerned therein, but the fatalities attending this design of Caledonia, did not here end : As sad, yea, worse misfortunes followed them that came after.

Cale-

Caledonia being thus deserted, and left to her former desolation, it was about eight weeks after, when there arrived two ships from Scotland upon the place thus forsaken, with recruits of men and provisions for the Colony, which were Captain Jamieson and Captain Stark. But, alas, their arrival was now too late ! for the birds were flown, and the nest left bare. The Company might now find the old Proverb verified, *Sero sapiunt Phryges*. Had this recruit and supply come sooner, the Colony might have stood : But the counsel of the Lord must stand. Men propose, but God disposeth.---- These two ships brought over about 300 men ; they lost but few men by sea ; but when they came to the place, and found it desolate, it was a sad surprise unto them, and put them to a stand ; they were in doubtful suspense what to resolve upon. But within a few days after their arrival, Divine Providence frowned upon them, by a sad disaster. Captain Jamieson's ship being loaded with provisions and Brandy ; while some were drawing Brandy in the Hold of the ship, having a lighted candle with them, accidentally the fire of the candle caught hold of the Brandy, which forthwith flamed so terribly, that it set the ship on fire, and in a little time destroyed both ship and provisions. The wreck of this ship is yet to be seen in Caledonia harbour.

This fatal accident having befallen this poor company, they were now rendered incapable to stay in this place, their provisions having been mostly aboard of Jamieson's ship, which were now all lost. This is now another awful rebuke upon this design and Company concerned. Soon after this, they resolved to be gone from this place, and in order hereunto shipped themselves aboard of captain Stark's ship : Only there were about six men of them so resolute and bold, that they would tarry behind upon the place, and wait till the Rising-Sun's party should come hither : The captain therefore, left some provisions with them, and they went and lived
among

among the Indians, and upon our arrival with the Rising-sun, we found most of them alive.

When this company had got ready to sail, they steered away for Jamaica; they buried but few men during their short stay in Caledonia, but after their arrival at Jamaica, a great mortality befel them, and as they reported, the greatest part of them died there.

Such sad calamities and ruining disasters befel this design of Caledonia hitherto, and the poor people that were employed therein, concerning whom it may be sadly and truly affirmed, that for the greater part of them, they were sadly immoral and profane, who did not honour God, and God did not honour them: They were a sad reproach to the nation from which they were sent, and God made most of them to fall in the wilderness and in the sea: so that as to these forementioned companies, and the other also that came after them, it may be truly said, *Vestigia pauca retrorsum*. Few of them lived to return to see their native country.

Before we proceed to the Rising-sun's party and providences that did attend them, it will be worth our while to remark here, the observable series of frowning and crossing disappointments, that followed this design and undertaking. After our company of Scotland had sent forth their first colony in order to settle upon Darien, whatever recruits and supplies of men and provisions were sent out of Scotland afterwards for this place, still the former were gone from the place, before the latter were come up, or else the supplies miscarried by the way, or came too late. For, 1. That ship sent from Clyde with provisions designed for the colony, was cast away, and failed in the undertaking. 2. When the first colony had dislodged and left the place being upon the sea, some of them met with a New-England ship coming with provisions for their colony, but it was now too late. 3. When Jamieson's and Stark's ships arrived upon the place with men and pro-

provisions, they found Caledonia deserted, and the colony gone, they knew not whither. 4. When the Rising-sun and her company came up, they found both the first colony, and Jamieson's and Stark's party removed and gone, and they never knew of it, until they got thither. 5. When captain Bailie with a small vessel arrived there from Scotland, though they found the Rising-sun's party upon the place, yet the capitulation with the Spaniard's was concluded near two days before his arrival. 6. When captain M'Dowal in a ship from Dundee had come to Caledonia with provisions, he found the place possessed by the Spaniards, our men being removed to Jamaica. From such an observable succession of counteracting providences in this design, who cannot but remark, and see a holy and sovereign God, signally appearing and fighting against this undertaking. As if men should say, This design shall succeed, and God say, *It shall not prosper: Though ye should take counsel together, it shall come to nought, for there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord,* Prov. xxi. 30. *Isa. viii. 9, 10.* But this may be sadly lamented among our people concerned in this undertaking, that as to most of them that word may be too truly applied, *Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see it,* *Isa. xxvi. 11.* And how few among us will hear and attend to this, *Isa. xlii. 24, 25.* *Who gave Jacob to the spoil and Israel to the robbers? Did not the Lord, he against whom we have sinned? For they would not hearken to his voice, nor walk in his ways; therefore he hath poured the fury of his anger upon us, and yet we have not rightly observed it, nor laid it to heart.*

THE Next adventurers for Caledonia, were the Rising-sun and her party, who had no better success in their expedition, than their countrymen who went before them. They were in all four ships: The Rising-Sun, captain Gibson commander; the
compa-

Company's Hope, captain Miller commander; the Hamilton, Captain Duncan Commander; and the Hope of Boroughstonness, captain Dalling commander. They had in all about 1200 men aboard their several bottoms. Having got all ready to sail, it was a considerable time before they could get out of Clyde, the winds being contrary, and beating them back several times, when they endeavoured to get out. The Rising-sun was once in danger here by fire, but it was timely discovered and extinguished. Providence seemed to frown upon our beginnings, and counteract our motion. At length the wind presenting fair, we all set sail together from Rochelary in Bute, on September 24, 1699. being the Lord's day. We steered our course between England and Ireland, along St George's channel, the wind not serving us to sail by the north of Ireland. We had a favourable passage as to wind and weather, but were exercised with sore and wasting sickness among our men, during the whole voyage. It was on November 9. that we first discovered land, which was the Island of Antigua, about the latitude of 16 Degrees and 30 Minutes. About two hours after, we came up with the Island Montserrat, which is hilly and rocky. Before this Island our ships having for some hours, stood to and again, the Rising-sun sent her long Boat ashore for water and fresh provisions, and for intelligence; but the Governor of Montserrat was so inhumane, that he denied us the liberty of having any water or provisions there, pretending his orders from the court of England for so doing. Here our counselors heard some flying reports about the desertion of our colony, but they would not believe it. So after cold comfort at Montserrat, we stood on in our voyage for Caledonia, and though one of our ships, the Company's Hope, [aboard of which the Author of this History sailed] did this night lose company of the rest of our Fleet, and sailed alone for fourteen days together, yet at length, through the good providence

vidence of God, we all arrived safely on this coast of Darien, hard by Golden Island, which the Spaniards call *Isle-Gorda*, from the figure of it, resembling a gourd; and on November 30. all our four ships got safely into Caledonia harbour, which lieth about south-east from Golden-Island, and distant thence about three leagues.

We buried many of our men by sea, officers and gentlemen as well as others, from Rochesay in Bute until we arrived at this port, about 160 Persons; and among others there died at sea one of our ministers, Mr Alexander Dalgliesh, a pious and faithful man, much lamented by those that knew him, leaving a sorrowful widow with child behind him. He died betwixt Montserrat and Darien.

Upon our arrival in this new world, we met with a sorrowful and crushing-like dispensation, for expecting here to meet with our friends and countrymen, we found nothing but a waste, howling wilderness; the colony deserted and gone, their Huts all burned, their Fort most part ruined, the ground which they had cleared adjoining to the Fort all overgrown with shrubs and weeds. We looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of health and comfort, but behold trouble. Our arrival at this place, was much like David's coming with his little army to Ziklag of old, where expecting to meet with their friends and relations in peace, they found the Town burnt and laid waste, their relations all gone they knew not whither, so that the people lift up their voice, and wept sore, 1 Sam. xxx. Our disappointment was like theirs in Job vi. 19, 20. *The troops of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them: they were confounded, because they had hoped; they came thither and were ashamed.* It was therefore no wonder, that our people were sadly discouraged upon their coming hither, and the rather because they were ill fitted and furnished to begin a new plantation, and had not materials suitable to such a design, which they expected to find

D

here

here before them. Our party were not sent forth to settle a colony, but only to be a recruit and supply to a colony, which we expected in some measure already settled, and sufficiently furnished with tools and instruments for such a design. Only this small comfort our men found upon their arrival here, that they found two small sloops with provisions, lying in this harbour, who it seems had been expecting our coming. It was captain Thomas Drummond from New-York, who had been a counsellor and main man in the first colony, and had gone off from this place when they all dislodged together. The other was one Mr Fulton from New England. By these we learned what had become of our colony, whither they were gone, and how it had fared with them here.

Soon after our arrival, our principal men called a council, consisting of our counsellors and officers, to consider and determine what was fit to be done in our present sad circumstances: Whether they should settle here or not, seeing that the first and main colony was gone? When they were assembled, it was proposed by one of the officers, that they should call for one of the Ministers to pray for direction from the Lord in this weighty matter, before they did proceed to vote. But such was their religion, that they slighted this motion as a thing needless. Since even a Heathen would have advised, that in our undertakings, this rule must be observed, *A Jove principium*: much more they that call themselves Christians, should be better instructed, to begin with God, and do nothing without asking his leave and direction. When they came to a vote, it was carried in the affirmative, that they should settle, though some of the council were otherwise inclined, and signified, that considering our present circumstances, there was little hope of doing any good here. Then they considered, that seeing they had concluded to settle here, it seemed to be necessary to send off some of their men to Jamaica, that
so

so their number being fewer, their provisions might last the longer, till they might hear from Scotland, of the intentions of the company; whether they would prosecute this design any farther, seeing their first colony, the main strength of this undertaking, had deserted: So they agreed to send off to Jamaica with the two hired ships, captain Duncan and captain Dalling, about 500 of their men, and to reserve the remainder of the men here upon the place. And further, they concluded, that the men's daily allowance of provision, should be diminished, that so it might last the longer. This method caused much grumbling and discontent among many of the men, and was likely to have produced dangerous effects, as did shortly after sadly appear.

The council having thus concluded; about a week after, there were some of the men put ashore to work and clear the ground, upon the same spot where our men had set down, and raised their Fort before, it being now all overgrown with bushes, (for things in this southern climate are of a speedy growth) and after they had cleared the ground, they began to cut down trees, for building Huts to themselves to dwell in, which they covered with wild Plantane leaves, which are broad and long, fit for such a purpose; they made also some reparations about the Fort, and built two very good ware-houses for their provisions: For here is great plenty of very good timber, fit to build withal.

The people that our company of Scotland sent over hither to their New Colony, were most of them, both Seamen and Landmen, Gentlemen and Officers, as well as the meaner sort, none of the best of men: And therefore the Ministers sent along with them had but small comfort in their company; their instructions and admonitions were but little regarded by them; many of them seldom, and some of them never attending the public worship of God. Whence we may see what sort of a Church they

could set up in this place, when there was such bad stuff to make it of.

About fourteen days after our arrival here, there were nine seamen belonging to the *Rising-sun*, that ran away by night with one of the boats belonging to the said ship. We understood afterwards, that they had gone to Portobel among the Spaniards, and so betrayed the condition of their poor countrymen in Caledonia to them. Our men did not pursue nor seek after them, being uncertain then, whither and what way they had fled.

About the middle of December there was hatched and discovered a plot among some of our men, designing to lay hold on the counsellors, and seize some of the ships, in order to make their escape out of this place. What incited them to this plot, was said to be, their hearing of the former vote of the council, about sending off so many of the men for Jamaica, and the shortening of their daily allowance of provision; this being discovered by the confessions and accusations of some that were in the plot or privy to it. There was one man, named Alexander Campbell, that was hereupon tried and condemned by a Court-Martial, and was executed within the Fort, Dec. 20. Some of the Ministers dealt with our counsellors, that they would not put him to death, but only banish him out of the colony; but they would not yield to it. This poor man seemed to die very penitently, confessing. That upon his hearing of the foresaid resolution of the council, he was tempted by the instigation of others, to contrive how to make his escape from hence, and to seize some of the ships to that effect. He said also, that for some time before this, (particularly since God had recovered him from a late sickness,) he had left off prayer to the Lord, and therefore God had now justly left him to this doleful end.

The Church of Scotland at home, was not unconcerned about the spiritual good and edification of such considerable numbers of their poor people who

who had been sent abroad upon this public design : And therefore as they had sent two ministers along with the first colony ; so now, the numbers of our countrymen sent to the colony being much increased, and particular application having been made by the court of Directors to the Commission of the General Assembly of our church, craving that they would send Ministers along with the people going to their colony, as well as for the instruction and edification of those that were gone before, that those afar among Pagans, might not be left as sheep in a wilderness, without a shepherd, nor want the light of the glorious Gospel in these remote ends of the earth ; and also that the light of the Gospel might shine in these dark regions where it never yet shined, and if possible, the poor Heathens might in time be brought to see and walk in this light. Therefore the Commission of the General Assembly did meet at Glasgow on July 19. 1699. and very cordially and zealously laid themselves out to promote and advance this so Christian and noble a design. They set apart a time for solemn prayers to the God of Heaven for success to this great work. Mr Meldrum preached a sermon very suitable to the circumstances of those, who were now to be sent upon this work, on Heb. xi. 8. *By faith Abraham being called of God, obeyed and went out, not knowing whither he went.* They drew up and caused to be printed an excellent Letter of Christian instructions and admonitions for the people of the colony that were gone to Caledonia. They appointed and commissioned four Ministers now to go along with these who were to be sent and bound for the colony. They drew up a commission and instructions for those ministers who were appointed to go. And that the Reader may perceive the care and concern of the church of Scotland for this new colony, and see by what call and warrant, these ministers did go along with them, we shall here transcribe the written commission

mission given to the ministers, by the Commission of the General Assembly above-mentioned.



COPY of the COMMISSION
to the *Presbytery* of CA-
LEDONIA. *July* 21. 1699.

WE, the COMMISSION of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, taking to consideration, That whereas the honourable court of Directors of the African and Indian company, did in name and behalf, and at the earnest request of the council and government of Caledonia in America, apply to the last General Assembly of this church, beseeching that Ministers might be sent to the said colony, for settling a Gospel ministry, and dispensing of Gospel-ordinances, and that they might instruct and edify our countrymen and others who should from time to time, adjoin themselves to the said colony : And who also might, through the blessing of God, be useful in propagating the glorious light of the Gospel among the Pagan Natives, and contribute to their conversion. And the said General Assembly having fully empowered and authorized this Commission to take all effectual methods for accomplishing so good a design. And the said honourable court of Directors, having particularly invited you Mr Alexander Shields, Minister of the Gospel at St Andrews, and you Mr Francis Borland, Minister of the Gospel at Glasford ; and called you, Mr Alexander Dalgliegh and Mr Archibald Stobo Ministers of the Gospel,

Gospel, to be sent to Caledonia, to labour in that pious, necessary and glorious work. In order to your more clear, warrantable and comfortable proceeding in carrying on the same; We the said Commission do authorize, impower and require you, to repair to the said colony of Caledonia: and upon your arrival, that you present our Letters to the council and government, acquainting them with our tender concern and care for them, which shall be continued; and that upon applications made in their behalf to us, you are sent as their Ministers, during your abode among them, to take charge of their souls, to which you are hereby authorized and impowered by us: Recommending to you faithfulness and diligence in preaching the Gospel, and administering other Gospel-ordinances. And upon your first arrival, with the advice and concurrence of the Government, set apart a day for solemn public thanksgiving to God, for preservation of the colony, of the present supplies and of yourselves, and for imploring his blessing and conduct in your ensuing work. Afterward you shall constitute yourselves a PRESBYTERY, by electing a Moderator and Clerk, and beginning your Register with this Commission now delivered unto you by us, and thenceforth orderly recording all your Proceedings. You shall thereafter, with all convenient speed, with the concurrence of the Government, and the consent of the people, so far as the same can be obtained, associate unto yourselves, by setting apart, according to the known methods of the church of Scotland, some of the fittest and most qualified persons, for piety, prudence, judiciousness and respect among the people, to be ruling Elders, Overseers of the manners of the people, and Assistants to you in the exercise of Discipline and Government: By whose assistance, with consent of the council, so soon as may be, divide the whole inhabitants of the colony, according to their local residence, and the best conveniency their present circumstances can admit,

admit, into so many Districts or Parishes, that each Minister may have a particular charge, under his more immediate and peculiar inspection : And then increase the number of the Elders, and appoint Deacons of fit persons, yet so as that you may all consider yourselves as in a collegiate relation to the whole colony, and labour therein, as shall be agreed among yourselves in Presbytery. And we seriously recommend to you, being thus constitute, that so soon as you find the colony in case for it ; You do, with the concurrence of the council, assemble the whole Christian inhabitants, and keep a day together in solemn prayer and fasting, bewailing former sins, renewing baptismal engagements, and with the greatest solemnity and seriousness, *Avouching the LORD to be your GOD, and dedicating yourselves and the Land unto the LORD.* And the people being divided into several Districts, you shall thenceforth hold parochial Sessions, and your diets of Presbytery, as often as the exercise of Discipline and Order, and the other exigencies of the church may require : And with Christian prudence, holy zeal, Ministerial authority, faithfulness and diligence, in dependance on your Great MASTER, you vigorously prosecute all the ends of your Mission : Particularly, that you labour among the Natives for their instruction and conversion, as you have access. We further recommend to you, to be as useful and edifying as possible, unto the several companies of the ships, unto which you shall be disposed during this voyage, looking upon them as your particular charge for the time, whom you are to watch over in the Lord, as you shall have access. And we require, that after your arrival, you be careful by Letters, directed either to the Moderator of the Commission at Edinburgh, or to the Principal of the College of Glasgow, or to the Moderator of the Presbyteries of Edinburgh or Glasgow : Frequently and fully to acquaint the church of Scotland with the whole state of your affairs, and what you may need

need from them, from time to time : Wherein you are not to doubt of their cheerful forwardness to assist you, and that the General Assembly will lay down effectual rules and methods for your future supply. And whereas some of you stand in a pastoral relation to Churches in Scotland, and others not, yet all have a liberty of returning, as likewise a liberty to remain and labour in the Lord's work, as fixed ministers in the colony, if your health, inclination and other circumstances concur: We therefore recommend if possible, before any of you come away, you endeavour to settle the Church, and that the concerns of the Gospel be brought to some hopeful pass. And we require that so soon as any of you determine to settle; your Presbytery send Advertisement, that their charges, if they have any, be provided with another Minister; And so soon as any of you resolve to come home without returning, that timely notice be given to this church, to the end that others be provided to go in their room; and that whoever comes from you, may bring either an allowance or commission from your Presbytery, as the occasion of his coming shall be. Nor are you to doubt, but such as come from you, will be received as members of the General Assembly of this church, and of their commission, for that year in which they come. And finally, we recommend to you, that whatever discouragements you meet with, (though we trust you shall be encouraged and strengthened in the Lord) that you give no way to the dissolving of your Presbytery, but that so many of you stay as to keep up the face of a Presbytery, until new supplies be sent unto you. And thus we commit you, and our Lord's great and glorious work in your hands, unto his own powerful, wise and gracious conduct and blessing. At Glasgow, *July 21. 1699.* signed in the name, and by the appointment of the Commission of the General Assembly, and in their presence by

GEORGE HAMILTON, *Moderator.*

JOHN BANANTYNE, *Cler. Syn. Nat. & Com.*

OF the four Ministers sent by our church to this colony, there were only three of them now alive, who while they were here, had their share of the public discouragements and calamities of the company which they were among, and of the briers and thorns of the wilderness. They found themselves in ill case to put in practice the instructions which the commission of the church of Scotland had given them: The circumstances of the colony being quite altered from what was expected, when they were sent from Scotland. If it should be asked then, What did the Ministers sent to Caledonia in pursuance of their instructions above-mentioned? We answer, They followed and pursued their instructions, so far as the present circumstances of the poor company, and place where they were, would permit: Besides their ordinary preaching to the people, on the Lord's day, both while they were at sea in their several ships, and after their arrival, both aboard the *Rising-Sun*, and also among the people ashore, by turns: What they could further attain to, with the consent of our counsellors here, in a more public and solemn way, was, That on January 3, 1700. the Ministers with the people here, kept a public day of Thanksgiving, Humiliation and Prayer to God. The present sad aspect of our affairs, was the reason why we joined all together in one day, for we had cause to rejoice with trembling and fears, (but as to the setting up a Presbytery here at this time, according to our instructions, it was a business not now practicable nor expedient in our present broken and uncertain circumstances.) The causes of which solemnity were drawn up by the Ministers here, in a meeting which they had among themselves on December 5, 1699; and are as follow.

Aboard

Abord the SHIP, the HOPE OF BOROUGH-
STONNESS, *December 5, 1699.* at a CON-
FERENCE of the MINISTERS.

THE Ministers sent in Mission from the Church of Scotland to labour in the work of the Gospel in this colony, conferring together about the circumstantiate condition of the people recommended to their inspection, and the proper work which God may be calling them to, in such a time and case, considering the mercies of God in bringing us to this place in safety, which call for our thankful acknowledgments. The many grievous and heinous sins and abominations that have abounded and still continue among us, which have procured and extorted from the just and holy Lord, sad and severe rebukes, declaring his anger gone forth against us: And how indispensably necessary it is in such circumstances, we should solemnly humble ourselves before the Lord, and address his throne for mercy and grace to help us in time of need. And finding it is seriously recommended in their Commission and instructions, by the Commission of the late General Assembly, that upon our safe arrival at this Port, as soon as may be conveniently, with the advice and concurrence of the Government, a day be solemnly set apart for these duties. We have therefore thought it a necessary and seasonable duty, and do humbly propose it to the Honourable Counsellors of this colony, as their earnest desire, that the third day of January next, be solemnly set apart for thanksgiving, humiliation and prayer, and appointed to be religiously observed for the causes, and to the effects following.

1. To acknowledge with all thankfulness, the mercies of our Lord, in favouring us with a safe passage to this place, protecting us from all enemies and dangers by sea, and notwithstanding the contagious sickness that raged among us so universally, preserving so many of us alive unto this day.

2. To confess with shame and sorrow our own and the sins of others concerned in this undertaking.

As, 1. That it is too evident, many both at home abroad, engaged in the prosecution of this great Enterprize, have been more influenced by their own selfish and worldly interests, than by a zealous concern either for the glory of God, or for the public honour and advantage of our Nation. 2. That in the choice of instruments for promoting this noble design, there hath not been that tenderness and caution exercised, which the case required, to admit or entertain none, but such as were of known integrity, and fit to advance the religious as well as the civil design of this Settlement: On the contrary, too many have been admitted into this service, that are men of flagitious lives, and some of pernicious principles, more apt to scandalize and corrupt, than to commend religion to our Pagan neighbours, whom by all means we should seek to gain and save. 3. More particularly, that there have abounded, and do still remain among us, such abominations (notwithstanding all the means used to restrain and suppress them) as the rudest Heathens from the light of nature do abhor; such as Atheistical swearing and cursing, brutish drunkenness, detestable lying and prevaricating, obscene and filthy talking, mocking of godliness, yea, and among too many of the meaner sort, base thieving and pilfering, besides Sabbath-breaking, contempt of all Gospel-ordinances, &c. which are stumbling to the very Indians, opprobrious to the Christian name, and reproachful to the Church and Nation to which we belong. 4. That among those that are free of these gross, scandalous abominations, the far greater

er part among us have little of the spiritual, heart-exercising sense of religion and the power of godliness. Many are grossly ignorant of the Principles of Religion, and among the more knowing, hypocrisy, formality, impenitency, unbelief, indifferency, security, omission of prayer, neglecting the great salvation, slighting of Christ offered in the gospel, and other spiritual sins, do lamentably prevail : And all these attended with the highest and most heinous aggravations, being committed and continued in against the clearest light, many mercies and privileges, and renewed resolutions and vows made to God, when his hand was heavy upon us in our late sickness at sea, which many of us have already forgotten, and returned with the dog to the vomit.

3. As we ought to be humbled for these causes of God's wrath against us, so it ought to be a part of our work to mourn for the evidences and tokens of God's displeasure, in withholding his counsel and countenance from many of our endeavours, and in many steps of holy Providence, counteracting and walking contrary to us ; especially, 1. That throughout our whole voyage, the Lord's hand was heavy upon us, pursuing us with sore sickness and mortality, which cut off so many of us. 2. That upon our arrival here, we met with so discouraging and consternating a disappointment of our hopes, in finding the colony deserted. And, 3. That for so long a time, some of our men have continued in sad bondage, prisoners in the hands of the cruel Spaniards.

4. These things do call for our more than ordinary upstirring, in turning to the Lord with all our hearts, and crying mightily to our God in solemn and serious prayer and supplication, that he may give us grace to be thankful for our mercies received, even in the midst of his wrath ; that he may give sincere repentance, and work in us a thorough reformation, pardon our sins and turn away his wrath

wrath from us ; that he may grant our Counsellors the spirit of wisdom and resolution, shine upon their counsels and deliberations, and direct their determinations and administrations, to his own glory and the good of this people. And that upon all of us in our respective stations, he may bestow his grace, to know and to do what is incumbent in our difficult circumstances : That if it be his holy will, he may favour with success the design of this Settlement, supplying all our wants, protecting us against all our enemies ; and particularly, that in his own due time and way, he may open a door for introducing the Gospel of Salvation to the poor Indians, who have hitherto been strangers to it ; and that all of us may get grace so to carry towards them, as they may not be stumbled, but rather allured and engaged, to fall in love with our holy religion.

ACCORDINGLY, when the third of January forementioned was come, which was on a Wednesday, the Ministers, with the consent and allowance of our Counsellors, observed the said day, in a public meeting of our people ashore, every minister taking a part of the work. The first part of this day's work, which was Thanksgiving, being performed by Mr Borland from that text, Psalm l. 14. *Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows to the most High.* The second part of the day's work being Humiliation, was carried on by Mr Shields from that text, Jer. xiv. 19. *Hast thou utterly rejected Judah ? Hath thy soul loathed Zion ? Why hast thou smitten us and there is no healing for us ? We looked for peace, and there is no good, and for the time of healing, and behold trouble.* The last part of this day's work, being Prayer and Supplication, was in the Afternoon managed by Mr Stobo upon that text, Psal. iv. 6. *Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.* The above-mentioned causes of this solemn work, having been in the beginning of the day, publicly read before all the auditory.

The

The Ministers did likewise deliver the Commission's printed letter, to many of the people present with us. But the Christian and excellent instructions contained therein, were little regarded by most of them. Though strangers abroad, with whom I conversed, and did communicate the same Letter unto, were much taken with, and highly commended the same.

While our people abode in Caledonia, the main work they did was the building of their Huts within the compass of their Fort for their habitation, and setting up two Store-houses for their provisions: Besides, when they were alarmed with reports of the Spaniards preparations to come against us, which was about the latter end of January, they began to bring some great guns ashore into the Fort, for their defence against the enemy. But all the time they were in Caledonia, their ministers could never procure the favour to get Huts built for them, for their accommodation ashore among the people, though they often intreated this kindness of the chief ones here, which they granted to the common soldiers. So the Ministers were necessitated to continue aboard their several ships, in their small Cabins, during their continuance here, which proved a long and tedious time to them; only two of them, Mr Stobo and the Author, obtained the favour of a borrowed Hut to come ashore into, for about two months time, before our removal hence; but the other Minister, Mr Shields, had always his abode aboard the Rising-Sun. These circumstances made it to be the more uncomfortable to the Ministers here, in that they could not so freely nor frequently meet and converse together as they desired, especially some of them having to do with uncomfortable commanders. And when the Ministers here did meet, it was ordinarily in the shady, dark and silent woods, *Inter densas umbrosa cacumina Sylvas*. Where I suppose such guests and exercises, never had been before.

Hav-

Having before made mention of captain Thomas Drummond, whom we found in this place upon our arrival, returned from New-York with some provisions and tools belonging to the first colony; it may be here remembered, that the said captain Thomas Drummond, being of a very forward temper, advised our counsellors, that they should presently after their arrival, go in a military posture against the Spaniards at Portobel. This advice our counsellors did not like nor relish, seeing the Spaniards as yet had not made any attempts against us. The said captain Drummond also had delivered unto our counsellors the Journal of the first colony, which they having searched, found, it seems, some things in the conduct and management of the said captain Drummond in the time of the first colony, where-with they were not well-pleased. These things made them jealous, and have an ill opinion of him, they gave him no credit nor trust, and followed none of his measures; and not only so, but they further confined him, and made him a prisoner aboard of captain Duncan's ship, setting a guard upon him; in which state of confinement he remained, until the arrival of captain Campbel of Fanah after-mentioned, who procured him liberty to go up and down among us: But notwithstanding hereof, they gave him no trust nor employ, so jealous were they of him. And afterwards, when the Spaniards were arrived against us, the said captain Drummond left the colony and went for Jamaica, pretending to see if he could obtain any help for us from the English there, against our enemies, but he succeeded not in that matter in Jamaica, and the English seized the goods he had with him.

Here it may not be improper, to remember some passages of a progress, which the Ministers, accompanied with lieutenant Turnbull and some others, made some miles up the country among our neighbouring and friendly Indians. On January 16. Tuesday, we crossed our harbour to the south-west
side

side thereof, and travelled up several steep hills, crossing several small rivulets many times over, because of the various windings thereof, until we came to a bigger river, called by the Indians Acla the greater: travelling up by the banks of this river, and sometimes wading over the same pretty deep, at length we arrived at the Indians habitations, which are seated by the banks of this river Acla, here are pretty many of their houses along by the sides of this brook. This night we lodged at the house of an Indian, named Captain Pedro, where we were pretty civilly entertained with such fare as is usual among them, such as dried Fish and dried Fleth, Plantanes, Indian Corn and Potatoes; they gave us also Hammocks to lie in, and a fire by our beds, as is usual with the Indians by night. On the morrow, being Wednesday, we bid farewell to our Indian Host, and came down the banks of the said river Acla, all along till we came to the Seaside, at Prandies Bay over against Golden-Island, crossing the same river pretty deep several times. Between the foresaid Indians dwellings and the sea, by the banks of the said river, there is a pretty considerable bounds of pleasant level ground, and in one part thereof, many Orange-trees growing among the wild Woods: near to these also is a considerable space of open ground, free of trees, which the Spaniards call *Savanas*. When we were by the sea side, we travelled along the shore a little way more westerly, and then struck up again into the woods more southerly, till we came to another little river, called by the Indians, Acla the lesser; we journeyed south-ward, near the same brook, until we came to other Indians dwellings by the sides of the river, and this night we lodged at the house of an Indian, named John, being discretely enough entertained according to the Indian fashion; their houses are only shades to defend them from sun and rain, being all open by the sides. Nextday, being Thursday, we left our Indian friends, and re-

turned to the Sea side where these rivulets empty themselves into the sea, by Prandies Bay, which is a pleasant sandy shore. It is to be marked concerning these forementioned rivers, that they sometimes hide themselves, by running under the ground a pretty space, and then break forth again above ground. We proceeded on our journey toward our ships easterly, and resolved that we would travel along the shore, thinking it might be a better and nearer way, than back through the woods by the way we came. Passing along the shore we came to a steep point that juts out into the sea, which we judged unpassable; to shun which, we turned up into the woods, and travelled a while, thinking to gain the sea side again, on the other side of that fore-mentioned steep point; but here we travelled so long and by such crooked turnings, and through such thickets of tall and dark woods, that we quite lost ourselves, and were bewildered, that we knew not what way to move, nor how to extricate ourselves. Standing still therefore in our bewildered and melancholy condition, we heard the noise of the sea, and judged it to be our only surest guide at present, to wind ourselves out of our present labyrinth; therefore we turned our course directly toward the noise of the waves of the sea, and a very difficult and uncomfortable passage we had in striving to get through the thorny thickets of the woods in our way, and with much ado at length we got safely out into the open air by the sea side again. We resolved now that we would no more adventure ourselves into the woods, but keep along by the shore, though difficult and uneasy, travelling over the cragged and sharp rocks, yet here was no danger of wandering as in the woods. Accordingly we kept along close by the sea side, and got over that steep point with much difficulty, the rocks were often so close to the sea, that in passing along we were washen with the waves of the sea. It is a very hard and rocky shore all this way, and the
various

various windings and bendings of the coast made our way much longer. Sometimes we had steep rocks to pass over, which we must climb with hands and feet. We were all sorely fatigued with this journey, especially Mr Shields, was like to faint and sit up; he became so feeble and spent, so that we were much troubled about him, and the more because our provisions and cordials were all spent: but passing softly along, at length we came to a welcome spring of fresh water, springing out of the rocks, close by the sea side. This well was to us, even as that well was to Hagar in the wilderness, when her child was faint and like to die, that justly we may call it by the name of *Beer-la-hai-roi*, the well of him that liveth and did see us. By this well we rested a while, and Mr Shields having drunk of it, was refreshed and strengthened, and with the help of the Lord, we were enabled to proceed on our journey, till we came up to the Bay opposite to our ships; and this evening we got all safely aboard our several ships, EBENEZER. *The Lord leading the blind by a way they knew not; preserving our going out and our coming in, and as our day was, so making our strength to be.*

About this time we had much sickness and mortality among our men, which, as it continued among us in some measure since our arrival, was now become epidemical and raging, whereby many even of our officers and chief men were taken away, which was a fore discouragement to us.

On the second of February, the Ministers sent to this colony, agreed to write a Letter home to Scotland, to the Moderator of the Commission of the *General Assembly*, giving the Church and our friends, some account of our affairs hitherto, the Copy whereof follows:

FROM THE WOODS OF CALEDONIA.

Reverend Sir,

FEB. 2d, 1700.

THIS being the first sure occasion that ever was offered to us, since our departure from Scotland, and which may probably be the last that may occur from this place, for writing to you concerning our affairs, we thought ourselves bound in duty, and obliged by our instructions, to embrace the opportunity of giving you some account of our sad and very afflicted state. If universally prevailing wickedness in a society, and very heavy punishments, proclaiming divine anger contending with us, together with all manner of increasing hardships and imminent dangers from surrounding enemies, in a proper, waste and howling wilderness, can make a condition sad and afflicted.

The source and fountain cause of all our miseries we brought from our own country with us, arising from the inconsiderate choice that was made there of the worst of men to go along with us, that ever were sent to command or serve in a colony: Which in the judgment of God, our Land hath spued out as its scum, and no spot of God's earth can entertain or receive, but as a burden to it. The sending and intrusting such multitudes of men of such pernicious principles and scandalous practices, that have no regard to the commonest measures of religion or reason, honesty or honour, (which is the sad but just character of the greatest part of those that have been sent to this colony) hath been the cause of the unsettlement thereof, first and last; and threatens the final and fatal ruin thereof, to the indelible shame and reproach of the nation. Such was the company

ny we were thrust in among during the voyage, which will readily be judged, might make it not a little tedious and uneasy to us, especially when after all the essays and endeavours we could use, in the discharge of ministerial duties to them, as we had access in our weak and difficult circumstances; after public and private reproving their swearing, cursing, drunkenness, and pleading and contending with them, crying and roaring every day among them, about these things, procuring laws to be made by their own consent against them, having public exercise every day, and preaching every Sabbath, so long as our health permitted. Yet we could not prevail to get their wickedness restrained, nor the growth of it stopped. For these things it pleased the holy and just God to punish and smite us very sore with a contagious sickness, which also we brought from Scotland with us, that raged during the whole voyage, so that few escaped the infection thereof, whereby many were cut off, to the number of about 160 in all; and among the rest some of God's jewels and excellent ones, and in particular, our dear brother, Mr Alexander Dalgliesh, who approved himself even to the consciences of the most debauched, as a faithful servant of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet in the midst of all this wrath, the Lord remembered mercy toward us, in supporting us under all these pressures, sparing some of us from sickness, and restoring others of us from the gates of death, favouring us with a fair and easy wind and good weather all the way, and bringing us in safety to our Port, at which we arrived Nov. 30. But there we looked for peace and no good came, and for a time of healing, and behold new troubles: In some respect not unlike David's troubles, when he found Ziklag burnt and his friends all gone, and the people speaking of stoning him. So we found our colony deserted, their houses and batteries burned, the ground they had cleared all grown up again, and no accommodation or comfort left, but
what

what is to be sought in a wilderness, attended with all the sorrows, vexations, perplexities and confusions, that may be supposed to accompany so confounding and surprizing a disappointment of all our expectations, that had swelled before to too great bigness.

We do not think it so proper for us, to trouble you with narrations (which you may have otherwise better) of our Governors and Officers resolutions to re-settle, of the measures taken for advancing that design, and of the difficulties and discouragements that occurred and do still increase in the prosecution of it. We conceive you will rather expect from us, an account of the concerns of the Gospel, and of our ministry in that work; which we are sorry that we are not in case to make so satisfactory as were to be desired, being intricated in so many difficulties, to us insuperable. The truth is, as every body was brought to his wits end, so when we sought a retirement in the woods, which to this day is all the accomodation we have for our meeting to pray and confer together about our case and duty; we knew not what to do, and began to doubt if we were called in our present circumstances, and were by our Commissions obliged to stay any longer with this people, who at first were not concerned in calling us, and now did not invite us to stay. We began to reason with ourselves, that upon such a substantial alteration of the case of our mission, the several congregations that still are in relation to some of us, as our charge, and the reverend Commission that sent us, might expect our return: The colony and church of New-Edinburgh, to which we were sent in mission, were now gone, and not to be found, and the latter never had a being in *Rerum Natura*, and a great part of our instructions, through unforeseen emergents, essentially altering the case, were now become impracticable: As that of dividing the inhabitants of the colony into several districts or Parishes, that each of us might have a particular charge,

charge, which now cannot suit our circumstances: It being determind to keep only 500 of sea and land-men, whose local residence is circumscribed, within the limits of one little Fort: That of holding Parochial Sessions and diets of Presbytery distinct, which supposeth the former division.

That of labouring among the Natives for their instruction and conversion, which to us is impossible, having neither the language nor an interpreter, that can speak either Spanish or Indian: And the last, that so many of us should stay in this country, as might keep up the face of a Presbytery, until new supplies should be sent; which is now impracticable, when though all of us should stay, we can hardly make the face of a Presbytery.

These difficulties were very discouraging, yet on the other hand considering the necessity of this people to have the gospel preached to them, which is so much the greater, that they are not sensible of it: And that we know not what our people or the reverend Judicatories that sent us, will expect of us upon such changes, nor whether they are informed of the change, but rather might challenge us upon our return, and silence us with such a Query as we could not answer: What have ye done with those few sheep in the wilderness? That there is still a colony in the place, which is the primary object of our charge, and that though some of our instructions are rendered impracticable, yet others are still practicable: and the design of all of them is, that we should fulfil our mission, in labouring in the work of the gospel, to the edification of the colony, and the good of all it may reach. We therefore judge ourselves called by Divine Providence, and obliged by our Commission, and by the laws of brotherly society, for our mutual comfort and strengthening, to stay together with this people for some time, until we shall see what is like to become of the colony, and use some weak endeavours if possible, to settle something like a church here. Having thus resolved,

ed, we addressed the council, and presented the Commission's Letter to them, which they received civilly enough; at the same time we shewed to them our commission and public instructions, as likewise a copy of what was recommended by the Commission at Edinburgh to the honourable court of Directors, that that Court might write to the Government here concerning submission to our ministry, and their concurrence with us in suppressing immorality and profaneness, &c. And desired to know if the court of Directors had written to the Government here about such matters: They declared there was no such thing signified to them by any letters. This neglect of that Honourable Court is very prejudicial to us; for if they had pleased to have recommended these things, it would have quickened our counsellors to more zeal, than all our arguments can persuade them to. It was some time after this before we could find conveniency (the clearing of the ground and building of Huts for the men taking up much time) to set apart with the advice and concurrence of the Government, a day for solemn Thanksgiving to God for our preservation, and for imploring his blessing and conduct in our ensuing work, unto which, considering the present humbling dispensations of Providence, and the uncertainty of opportunities afterwards, we judged it expedient to adjoin solemn Humiliation for our former and present abounding Abominations, and acknowledging the justice of God in our present judgments: So making the work of that day tripartite, Thanksgiving, Humiliation and Prayer, which was performed on the third of January last. But it was grievous to us, that so few gave their countenance and presence at that work, and so very many, both Officers, Seamen and Planters absented themselves, as they do every Sabbath; some from a principle of careless sloth and indifferency, others of malignancy and wicked perverseness: By which you may perceive

perceive how little access we have to edify this people: Which is yet the less, that a great number of them, near one third at least, are wild Highlanders, that cannot speak nor understand Scotch, which are Barbarians to us and we to them. Yet we do, and shall, through grace, endeavour to be faithful and diligent in preaching the Word to them that will hear it, which is all that hitherto we could perform of ministerial duties to them, while they are kept so busy at work. This work we carry on as Colleagues, in a Collegiate relation to the whole people, agreeing to divide our labours so, as two of us preach ashore, and one aboard the Rising-Sun, every Lord's day, *Alternis Vicibus*. It hath been and yet continues a great inconveniency to us, that we are forced to lodge aboard the several ships we came in, having no Huts built for us yet ashore: And so we cannot always when we would, either meet together, or go ashore for visiting the sick, which are now very numerous, above 130. This sickness for some time abated, but it is now returned in its former rage, which in some is occasioned by the season, in others by their eating some poisonous fruits and an unwholesome water which they find in the woods, and more generally by their sore working, and small allowance of our old fat and bad provisions, which is pinching and straitning to all of us: but the only cause that we are most concerned to acknowledge, is the anger of God plaguing us for our sins, and threatening to cause our carcasses to fall in the wilderness, wherein many are fallen already, buried since our arrival.

We have mentioned already our disadvantages for doing any thing among the Indians; yet our curiosity prompted us to travel two or three days among them. We find them a poor naked people, living, as we use to say, from hand to mouth, being very idle and lazy, and not industrious, peaceable and friendly to those that use them kindly, but very revengeful and covetous. We cannot discover either

what worship they have, save that we hear their priests consult the devil about their enemies or ships coming to their coasts, or such like events, or that ever they heard any thing of the Christian religion from Spanish Priests, or others. In two of their houses we went about the public exercise of worship which they did not disturb, but sat with grave silence all the time. They knew not at first our distinction of the Lord's day from other days, and so came with their fruits and trade to sell, but now some of them have learned that we keep such a day, and several of them come to our Sermons to see our fashion, and carry themselves very decently. There might be some hope of doing some good among them, if we had any that had their language, and if our people's practice did not stumble them : But alas we have reason to fear we shall do them more hurt than good ; for the first of our language that they learn, is cursing and swearing ; and they have frequently complained of our people going out, and stealing and robbing from them : So that in a little time we shall make both ourselves and our religion odious to them.

Thus we have given some hint of our affairs and doings hitherto, some things recommended in our instructions we have delayed upon the account of the circumstances of the colony : It being determined so soon as the wind will permit, to send off to Jamaica with the hired ships, all that are now pressing to be gone, and to retain none but 400 Landmen, and 100 Sea-men, to save provisions, which are much exhausted : Then to wait two or three months for supplies of provisions from Scotland, which if they come, the colony may be in a fair way of settling ; and if so, through grace, we propose to wrestle out our year with them : If these supplies come not in time, this colony will again dislodge, and then we must make the best of our way homeward. Upon these considerations having delivered a great many of the Commission's printed
Letters

Letters at sea upon the voyage, and some more of them since we came to this place (which many of them did not much regard, but cast them behind their back) we delayed distributing what remains of them, until we shall see who shall go away, and who shall stay. And upon the same prospect having advised with some of the counsellors, whom we could conveniently and confidently consult in these matters, (for some of them we did not think fit to be communed with on such heads) we have delayed the constituting ourselves a Presbytery, until the colony be better constituted : As likewise the associating to ourselves and setting apart Ruling Elders, which will be very hard to find here duly or tolerably qualified. But if matters succeed, we intend to essay these things in due time. It will be a great pity, if, as we fear, this design of so great importance to the nation, shall again miscarry and come to nothing, through the mismanagement and delay of supplying us with provisions. The Land is pleasant, and a very fruitful soil, and might yield a very rich trade, if we had means to subdue the ground, and skill to improve it. But if supplies be denied or delayed, it must needs be lost in a very short time.

There come hitherto no people to trade with us, from any European colony, and therefore we expect but very rarely occasions to acquaint you with the State of our affairs ; and for this reason, having by our Commission a liberty to return when our year is fulfilled, and being obliged by our instructions to give timely notice of our resolutions in that matter : We must now give you advertisement, and intreat you to intimate it to the Reverend Commission, that none of us are determined to settle here, but all of us are resolved, if the Lord will, to come home, without a design of returning hither again. If the place be deserted, we shall endeavour to give you an account of it personally, with all possible expedition : If the colony remain, we shall use all en-

deavours to leave some young men behind us, in a capacity to preach to them; and ere we leave the place, to bring this Infant-Settlement to such a posture, that it shall be more encouraging to any that shall be afterwards sent by the Church of Scotland to assist in this work, than hitherto it hath been. We add no more, but begging your sympathy and prayers, and that the Reverend Commission may interpose with the honourable Court of Directors to excite them to accelerate their sending us provisions, that we and this great concern in our hands, may not perish in this wilderness: And that when those shall be sent, or any sure occasion offered, we may be refreshed and instructed with a letter from that Reverend Judicatory. We beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

Reverend Sir,

Your afflicted Brethren, and

Servants in the work of the Gospel,

ALEXANDER SHIELDS.
FRANCIS BORLAND.
ARCHIBALD STOBO.

This above-written letter was drawn up and penned by the Rev. Mr. Alexander Shields.

THE Government and Management of the affairs of this colony was in the hands of four counsellors, viz. Captain Gibson, James Byars, Captain Veatch and Major Lindsay, and of those, James Byars was the main actor, and bore the greatest sway during his abode among us. But on February 7th, the said Mr Byars sailed hence in a Sloop for Jamaica, to see if he could procure to us any supplies from thence (our foresaid letter was sent by

by him) but he came no speed in Jamaica. The English there being no well-wishers to the success of this colony. And Mr Byars, though he endeavoured to return to our colony, yet he never got in to us again; the Spaniards having arrived before this place when he was on his way to us, so that he was necessitated to return to Jamaica, where at length we met with him, after we had left Caledonia, and were arrived at Jamaica.

On the eleventh of February arrived here, in a Sloop from Barbadoes, Captain Campbell of Fanah, having orders from our Directors at home to be one of our counsellors; he brought some provisions with him, which were very welcome to us, we being in great straits at this time. His arrival and Instructions made our counsellors alter some of their measures, which before they had resolved and concluded upon: For now they resolved to keep still all their men, and to send none of them off to Jamaica, as they had before resolved. For hitherto, the two hired ships that were to carry them off, could not get out of the harbour, the wind continuing still contrary to them: And so Divine Providence ordered it, that they continued here until such time, as we removed hence all together. So we see that men propose, but God disposeth of us and all our concerns, as it pleaseth him. About this time, we were daily alarmed with reports of the Spaniards preparations against us, which the event in a little time proved to be true.

February 13th, Our counsellors having received certain intelligence by the Indians, that a party of the Spaniards were coming by land against us, sent out a detachment of 200 Men against them under the command of Captain Campbell of Fanah fore-said, with whom joined about 40 of our Indian friends, under the conduct of lieutenant Turnbull, who had been one of the first colony, and understood something of the Indian language. On Thursday evening, Feb. 15. our men being conducted by
the

the Indians through the woods, came up with the Spaniards, who had barricadoed themselves with trees upon the side of a hill, and suddenly set upon them, and after several firings, the Spaniards fled. Our men durst not pursue them far, and the thick woods were dangerous to men unacquainted therewith. They found about eight or nine of their men slain, and three they took prisoners. There were about as many of our men killed, and about fourteen wounded; among the wounded were captain Campbell, Lieutenant Turnbull and Captain Pedro an Indian, sore wounded. The spot where this skirmish happened, is by the Indians called *Toratauba*. Our men judged it to be about 20 miles distance from our Fort, bearing from us about south-west, all the way being mountainous, up hill and down hill, but still the ascent greater and increasing, the further inlands they travelled. They found also here far up the country, the weather to be wet and rainy, especially by night, whereas we that were by the sea side here below, enjoyed still fair weather. On Feb. 18. our men returned from their engagement in peace. This was now a smiling providence upon us, and our people now generally were lifted up with hopes and confidence, that all things would succeed prosperously with them. But alas! we did not walk humbly and thankful before God. Under this smile of his providence upon us, instead of our glorifying the God of our salvation, there was little to be seen amongst most of our men, but excessive drunkenness, profane swearing, ranting, boasting and singing: And so came of it, for shortly after, our present smiles were turned into frowns, our clear sun-shine was overcast with dark and threatening clouds, Providence had a quite contrary aspect upon us, and we were soon as much dejected and cast down, as we had before been vain, proud and lifted up.

About this time we were betrayed by several strangers coming in among us, under the pretence of friendship,

friendship and necessity. An English Sloop came into our harbour, pretending to be from Jamaica, but was really a spy from the Spaniards, as afterwards we understood, they had gone from us to the Spaniards, and were in their company, when some few days after this, the Spaniards arrived upon our coast with their Fleet. Likewise about the same time, there were about nine French-men that dropt in among us, in a small Periago with Tortoises to sell to our chief men, that were able and willing to buy the same: and these also afterwards were found to be among our enemies; for there was a mixture of several nations serving in the Spanish fleet that came against us.

Our fears of the Spaniards now daily increasing, the counsellors ordered the repairing and fortifying the batteries about the Fort, in such sort as our present circumstances would allow; and having intelligence that several ships were spied off our coast. They sent forth two Sloops and the long Boat belonging to the *Rising-Sun*, with several men aboard, to cruize along the coast, and discover what vessels they were. These little vessels sailing along soon discovered these ships, whom they found to be Spaniards, and they gave chase to our small vessels, so that they were forced to flee in toward their harbour. The two Sloops being good sailers, got safely into the harbour, but the long Boat being duller, was forced to run ashore, and the men leaving the boat fled for their lives into the woods. Thus the *Rising-sun* lost her long-boat, which was a great damage to her.

And now sader times and heavier disasters and calamities besel the poor Caledonians, than they had hitherto met with. On the 23d and 25th of February, there arrived in our view about eleven sail of Spanish vessels great and small: They came to anchor within Golden-Island, over against Prandies Bay. We daily expected their coming into our harbour to attack our Fort and ships. Our people were
now

now filled with fears and sad thoughts of heart, about our condition and the event of what might befall us. So all hands, Sea-men and Land-men, were put to work, to fortify the place as well as they could: They also made several Fire-ships of their smaller vessels, putting themselves in as good a posture of defence as they could. But the Spaniards did not come in with their ships, for they knew this harbour well enough, which is easy for great ships to come into, but difficult and dangerous to get out again; the wind this season of the year, generally blowing right into it. So they went another way to work, less dangerous to themselves, and more disadvantageous to us, which was, To hem us in both by sea and land.

Many were the awful rebukes of God upon us at this time. Besides a threatening enemy without, and sore and wasting sickness and mortality within among ourselves, it pleased the Lord also to afflict us with a dreadful fire that broke out among our Huts, and burned down to the ground several rows of them, which was on February 28, by the casual firing of some gun-powder. Hereby many of our men lost all their goods and cloaths, and several of the sick people being hastily pulled out of their Huts, to save them from the devouring flames, and exposed to the open air, it increased their sickness, and hastened their death. Thus the anger of the Lord burnt against us round about, yet few of us duly laid it to heart.

The Spaniards soon after their arrival, sent some of their smaller vessels to the eastward of our Settlement, near Caret Bay, and there landed men ashore, intending to attack us by land: And shortly after, these men of theirs were joined by other Spaniards that came over land from Panama and Sancta Maria, accompanied with numbers of Indians, Negroes and Molattoes, who were expert in knowing the woods, and cutting passages through the thorny thickets of the woods in their way. It was now reported

ported by some, that their whole force, both by sea and land, amounted to about 2000. And now the Spaniards having made up a considerable body of men there ashore, under the command of their General, Don John Pimienta, who was present with them. They drew their men nearer in parties, toward that neck of land, that joins our Peninsula to the main.

Our Counsellors being now certainly informed of the Spaniards landing in that place, and their advancing that way against us, sent out parties of their men against them, and to defend that pass at the narrow neck of land. Our men had several skirmishes with parties of their men in the woods about that place, severals were killed and wounded on both sides, and among others of our men, Captain M'Intosh, who stood his ground stoutly here, was sorely wounded, and died some few days after.— This skirmish was on Feb. 29, and after this we had some few days respite from skirmishing.

On March 17. our men had a fresh skirmish with the Spaniards in the woods, and perceiving them now to be increased in their numbers, in their coming against our men, beyond what they were before, and our men not being so well acquainted and expert in fighting in the woods, as the Spaniards and their tawny company were, thereupon our men retired, and left the Neck of Land free and open for the Spaniards to pass over. Our counsellors did no more send out any parties of men that way, to skirmish with the Spaniards, save only scouts to observe their motions. So the Spaniards gradually advanced nearer to our settlement. About the same time, the Spanish General sent a Drummer with a demand or challenge to our counsellors, which our men, for want of an interpreter, did not well understand: But declared that they were Gentlemen of Honour, and would to their utmost, defend themselves and the place.

The hand of the Lord was very heavy upon us

H

at

at this time ; our sickness and mortality much increasing, and many daily dying. Most of our able Officers were taken away by death : Major Lindsay, one of our counsellors, died about this time. This sad visitation did much dispirit and discourage the surviving, that hitherto were in any health : For men were very speedily taken away by this wasting sickness. Some in tolerable health to-day, and cut off by sudden violent fevers and fluxes in a very few days.

We had many confused sabbaths among us at this time, through our distractions and fears of the enemy. It was proposed by the ministers to our counsellors, that a day of prayer should be set apart, for imploring the help of the Lord in this our great strait and day of distress ; but they thought so little of this spiritual weapon, that they pretended they had not time for it, and so it was neglected. But though the ministers were denied a day for public prayer, yet they made conscience to send up their cries to the Hearer of Prayer, both together, and in their secret recesses, that they might be remembered in their low estate, and the Lord would be seen in the mount of our extremity. And some here have cause to remark and to remember, how the Lord spake comfortably to them in the wilderness, and gave them the valley of Achur for a door of hope.

Shortly after our counsellors and chief officers being sensible they were not in a condition and capacity to hold out long against the enemy, the contagious sickness raging so among us from within, and a bloody adversary, from whom we expected no mercy, blocking us up both by sea and land from without ; They sent some of their number, Capt. Kerr, with others, to treat with the Spanish General about Articles of Capitulation. But the Spaniard, though otherwise discreet and civil to our men, was so high and lofty in his demands and terms at this time, that nothing less would satisfy him, than a surrender of all the Company's ships, goods and ammu-

ammunition, and would only yield to us a liberty to transport our persons and wearing apparel in the hired ships, and so be gone from this place. Our men would not accept of such hard terms, and so this treaty broke up without effect, March 22.—The Spaniards threatened hard and cruel things against us, preparing for a speedy assaulting us.----- There was much consternation of heart among us at this time, and upon this disappointment, sinking fears, and little faith and hope; our condition now seeming most desperate-like; Death, on all hands, stared us in the face, and indeed most of us had the sentence of death in ourselves. Many among us said, they believed there was not a people in the world, in more calamitous and deplorable circumstances, than we were in at this time: But as one among us well said, This was the great support of the true fearers of God among us, though we were thus afflicted, yet we cannot be miserable. And indeed it is the peculiar privilege of God's upright ones, that though they be troubled on every side, perplexed, persecuted and cast down, yet they are not in despair; not forsaken, not destroyed, 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9. *Though they fall, they shall not be utterly cast down, for the Lord upholdeth them with his hand, and is their light in darkness.*

The Spaniards were still advancing nearer to us, and on March 24. they were within a mile of our Fort, on the side of an hill eastward from us. Soon after, they approached so near, that they were got between us and our Look-out, which is an hill beneath our Fort. And now they had gained the advantage of having direct communication by boats from their fleet, whereby they had great guns and ammunition brought to their land forces, and they were now mounting a battery against our Fort, upon the north-side thereof, where our Fort was weakest; neither could our men by their guns hinder their intercourse with their fleet, nor do them da-

mage in their camp, for the thick woods hid and covered them.

March 28, and 29. The Spaniards being near us, some of their Musketeers advanced forward near the skirts of the wood contiguous to our Fort, and fired both these days upon our Fort, the bullets flying over our heads. We had only one man wounded at this time. Our men on the other side, were also firing towards them, but they could not get sight of them, they keeping themselves still darkened in the woods, and behind the great trees.

It was a very great loss to us, that since the Spaniards had got so near our Fort, they debarred us from our watering-place, which was about half a mile distance from our settlement, for none were then suffered or durst adventure to get out of the Fort to fetch water, the enemy lying in the woods. So our poor distressed people were necessitated to dig for water within the Fort, which is brackish, puddle unwholesome water : This was most hurtful to men and pernicious to our men, especially so sick and low, as the most of us at this time were. Such water would have made whole men sick, and must needs then be more dangerous and hurtful to the sick and dying ; especially considering how bad and unwholesome our old, salt and spoiled provision now was, and as for other liquors at this time, to give to the sick and dying, we had little or none, or any other sustenance that was suitable or comfortable, and moreover, our surgeons Drugs were now almost all exhausted, and our Fort was like a hospital of sick and dying men.

While the poor Caledonians in a melancholy wilderness were brought thus very low, environed with enemies by sea and land, and plagued with contagious sickness daily wasting them, (that we might justly apply that to our case, which was Israel's complaint of old in the wilderness, Psalm xc. 7. *We are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath we are troubled*) and filled with every thing that can make
a lot

a lot bitter and uncomfortable as gall and wormwood; and had no external, visible probability of hopes of any succour or relief from abroad, refuge on all hands seeming to fail them. Divine providence (that is never at a loss, and in the mount useth to be seen) so ordered it, that the Spanish general Don Pimienta himself, offered to capitulate with our counsellors, which was on March 30, and March 31. The Spaniards and our principal men came to an agreement, about delivering up the Fort to the Spaniards, upon certain articles after-mentioned. All our counsellors and officers agreed to this Capitulation, excepting Captain Campbell of Fanah foresaid, who was always against any treating with the Spaniards, otherwise than by the sword. So there were only two counsellors, captain Gibson and captain Veatch, besides our other chief officers, that had the principal managing of this matter.----- Captain Veatch had the great burden of affairs lying upon him, because captain Gibson tarried most part aboard his ship.

The Articles were drawn up in Latin by Mr James Main, who was our interpreter in this Treaty with the Spaniards, because he could speak French, and the Spanish General understood that language, but he declared that he would not subscribe the articles in French: Therefore they were drawn up in Latin, which he also understood, the tenor whereof is here subjoined, translated from the Latin copy.

Articles

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION,
agreed upon between his Excellency DON JOHN
PIMIENTA, Captain of his CATHOLIC MA-
JESTY's Forces, both by Sea and Land, and
Governor of CARTHAGENA: And the Comman-
ders of Fort ST. ANDREW, in the Bay of
CALEDONIA, about the surrendering of the said
Fort. MARCH 31, 1700.

ARTICLE I. All officers, soldiers and others, who at present are in the said Fort, or belong to the said colony, may freely repair aboard their several ships by which they came hither, with colours flying, and drums beating, together with all their arms and ammunition, and with all their goods and provisions.

II. To this purpose there is granted to them, the space of 14 Days to wood and water in, and that their ships may be in readiness to sail.

III. That time being expired, so soon as the wind shall present fair, all our ships of what sort soever, with all their warlike furniture aboard, with the rest above-mentioned, shall set sail together.

IV. As much gun-powder, bullets, guns great and small, as shall be judged sufficient, shall be given to every seaman and soldier, and to their several ships for their furniture for their voyage, a defence against whatsoever evil occurrent may befall them, in their voyage from this port toward Britain.

V. All vessels, great or small, that may happen hereafter to come from Britain or elsewhere to this port, upon our account shall have liberty to wood and water, if need be, and to set sail again without any molestation from the Spanish King's subjects,
 pro-

providing they commit no hostility, and that for the space of two months after the date hereof.

VI. All persons taken prisoners by either party, since his majesty of Great Britain his subjects, did first bring a colony to this place, shall be forthwith restored and delivered up.

VII. That the Indians who have been friendly to us, and conversed with us, since we came hither, shall not be molested upon that account. [It is to be marked here, that the Spanish General would by no means yield to this article about the Indians, although the Ministers petitioned him upon that head: He said the Indians were the king of Spain's subjects, and he knew best how to treat his own subjects, and if the Indians would keep out of his way, he would not search after them. And he was angry with the reverend Mr Shields, who presented our petition to him, and gave him a short answer, of being too officious, saying to him, *Cura tua Negotia*, to which he replied, *Curabo*, and so they parted.]

VIII. That what hostages shall be required, the Spanish General shall deliver, for the more certain performance of the premises.

(Subscribed)

PIMIENTA.

1. In consideration of the premises, the officers and commanders of the foresaid Fort St. Andrew, do unanimously deliver up the said Fort to the Spanish General, with all guns great and small, together with all other warlike ammunition, at present therein, and also aboard their ships, except what is expressed in the fourth article.

2. Likewise all smaller arms, excepting those which belong to the officers, and one gun, sword and dagger, to be given to every soldier, with one pistol and sword to be assigned to each seaman, shall moreover be delivered to the Spanish General.----- And that the premises may be duly performed, The Commanders of the said Fort, shall within one hour, after

after ratification of the premises, and after hostages received, expressed in the eighth article, deliver up one gate and one rampart to the said General, to be possessed by thirty soldiers, until the Scots be all got aboard of their several ships.

2. We oblige ourselves that we shall in no wise molest any of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, either by land or sea, while we are upon our voyage hence toward Britain, providing they do not molest or trouble us.

(Subscribed)

GIBSON.
WEATCH.

AFTER Ratification of the foresaid articles, our men made all the dispatch they were able to get ready to sail. We were much afraid lest the Spaniards should have proven false and treacherous to us, but God over-ruled them, that they made no open breach of the treaty. Our officers now desired the favour of the Spanish General, that he would grant liberty to our men to go and see if they could get off the Rising-Sun's Long-boat, that was run ashore, as is before-mentioned, but he would by no means yield to it: thus were two of the said ship's boats lost to her, which proved a great want and damage to such a ship. This Pimienta was a little thin man in stature, but mighty proud, passionate, stiff and wilful.

After the conclusion of the treaty with the Spaniards, they with the allowance of the General, came and traded with our people, buying several of their commodities, which our men were very willing to sell to them: and by this means some of our people came to be provided with money to bear their charges, when they arrived at another port, which proved a favourable providence to many of them.

Some may here question, what were the main causes of the Scots officers capitulating with the Spaniards at this time? In answer whereunto,
(though

(though from what is above related, sufficient reason may appear for it, let it be further weighed and considered.

1. At this time when they were so hemmed in by the Spaniards both by sea and land, they were also plagued with a sore, contagious, raging and wasting sickness, which was now become epidemical, and those of us, who were not affixed to our beds, were become exceeding weak and feeble, so that at this juncture they could hardly make out 300 able men fit for service. This did exceedingly dispirit and discourage our men, the surviving daily beholding what numbers were swept away by violent and sudden deaths, sometimes we would bury 16 Men in a day; and men walking up and down in tolerable case to-day, would sometimes be surprized with the stroke of death to-morrow; hence there was a general consternation of spirit among us, we looked on ourselves as dead men, besides most of our best officers were already dead, and taken away by this wasting sickness; therefore our officers and men that were yet left, saw their case here desperate and hopeless, they had no ground of encouragement to hold out against the enemy any longer, but were glad to accept of such terms as these, when they had them in their offer, without any longer delay; otherwise they had been foolishly fond of filling this place with their dead bodies, and of coveting graves in this wilderness.

2. Our people here at this time, had this further aggravation of their present misery, that their provision was very bad and unwholesome, as well as growing very scarce and short; their bread was mouldy and corrupt with worms, their flesh most unsavoury and ill-scented, their drugs were now almost all exhausted, and what comfort was here to sickly and dying men?

3. In our present condition we could not rationally expect any fresh supplies in season for our relief: The Spaniards having blocked up the entry into our

harbour

harbour by sea, and hemmed us in by Land also, were in a capacity to keep out any from coming into us with supplies, (as they actually did severals, as afterwards we understood). The Spaniards might only have kept their station where they were, and in a short time have starved us out, without using any other force against us.

4 Our men were now also debarred from their watering place by the Spaniards, and had nothing from our poor, sick and dying men to drink, but puddle, brackish and most unwholesome water, which we were necessitated to dig for within the limits of our Fort, and this exceedingly encreased our affliction.

5. Our small shot was now almost all spent, so that the Officers came through seeking Pewter vessels to melt down and make bullets of. Our gun-powder also we had left, was not good.

6. The Spaniards that were lying against us ashore, north of our Fort, were now mounting a battery with great guns against us, and upon that side our Fort was weakest to make any defence or resistance; Our main strength being on that side next to the sea.

7. The Spaniards here were in a manner at their own home having their towns and plantations round about them, and near to them, such as Carthage, Santa Maria, Porto-bell, and Panama, from which they could in a short time, have new supplies of men and provisions brought unto them. So that they were in a capacity to have stayed here long enough, to have made the poor Caledonians glad to capitulate with them, upon harder terms than these: Whereas our men were now as in their Enemies Country, and far from friends, and could not tell when or whence any relief should come to them, nor in their present circumstances could they reasonably expect it.

8. Our Indian friends could now bring us no relief, being necessitated to shift for themselves, for fear of the Spaniards: besides some of them had gone over

to

to the Spaniards, and had secret correspondence with them; for they commonly join with the stronger side, and little trust is to be put in most of them.

If the impartial Reader weigh these things, and candidly consider the case of these distressed People in the Wilderness at this time, I think he shall have no just cause to reflect upon or find fault with our Officers and chief men, for accepting of a capitulation, with the Spaniards in such circumstances. Whoever shall reproach and blame them for it, as they manifest little of a Christian sympathy with them that are in affliction, when they themselves live at ease, so I must tell them they little know what it is, to be in an American wilderness in circumstances that I would not wish them (were it lawfull to wish evil to any person) to be in sadder circumstances in this world than these afflicted people now were, in a remote, comfortless wilderness, under the Torrid Zone in a sickly climate, encompassed with enemies, and all manner of difficulties, a very Magor missabib: and were they in their circumstances, their souls in their souls stead, I presume they would lose their courage and boasting, and be glad to accept of such terms as these. But among many other hardships that these poor afflicted people have met with, they must be patient to suffer this farther, to be as lambs despised in the thoughts of them that are at ease.

We may here rather think it strange, how it came to pass, that seeing the Spaniards had our people at such disadvantages, and they had so many ways the advantage of us (and they very well understood by spies and others that had gone from us to them, how straitened and difficult our circumstances were) yet they condescended to grant us such favourable terms, and were not harder upon us.

What we could understand herein, as to second causes, that might have moved the Spanish General

to grant unto our people here such favourable terms, was this. That besides his own people were forward in pressing him to yield unto us, as easy terms as might be, and that without longer delay: he had intercepted a letter written to our counsellors, by Mr Byars forementioned, who was now upon this coast returned from Jamaica, but durst not venture to come into us, for fear of the Spaniards in his way, in that letter Mr Byars had written to our counsellors out of design, suspecting it might by the Indians the bearers thereof, fall into the Spaniards hands, telling them to be courageous and hold out, for that there were great supplies of men and provisions coming to them speedily. This letter was sent by some Indians to the Eastward, I suppose, and by the way it was never intercepted by the Spaniards, and so brought unto the General, who suspecting their might be some truth in it, was afraid of delays, and therefore judged it best and safest to come to Articles with the Scots, as soon as possible, to prevent what after inconveniences might happen to his own disadvantage. Besides, we may suppose he was willing to have as cheap and easy a victory over our people as he could: should he stiffly stand out and come to storm their Fort, he knew it would cost blood, and the loss of many of his men; for our people being redacted to that extremity, would kill before they were killed; But all this loss he might this way prevent.

But however it was, I shall not take upon me positively to determine. Thus divine Providence brought it to an issue, that the Spaniards were glad of, and many of the poor distressed Caledonians, were sensible of God's wonderfull, seasonable and preventing mercy, that had thus delivered them from falling a prey to the teeth of their bloody Popish Enemies, with whom they expected to find no mercy, though withal they lamented the sad loss and disaster that had now as formerly befallen their native country.

Having

Having before made mention of Mr. Byars, it must be here remembred, that whilst in his Sloop he was returning from Jamaica toward Caledonia, he had in company with him another small vessel, called the Speedy-Return captain Bailie commander, aboard of whom was Mr. M'Kay, who had been a counsellor in the first colony, and had left this place before the said colony deserted, went for Scotland, and he was now upon his return from Scotland toward Caledonia. But in the way betwixt Jamaica and Caledonia, whilst the said Mr M'Kay was a fishing of sharks standing at the stern of the vessel, through a sudden fallay of the ship, he fell overboard into the sea and so perished in a very lamentable manner, being torn in pieces by those ravenous and devouring sharks, the men aboard could make him no seasonable help nor relief. Mr. Byars and his sloop did not get into Caledonia because of the Spaniards lying in the way, as was noted before, and therefore he returned to Jamaica. But Bailies vessel having Captain Drummond above mentioned aboard of her who was well acquainted with the entry into Caledonia harbour, got into the same by night not being discovered by the Spaniards. But our capitulation with the Spaniards, was concluded near two days before his arrival; so that his coming was too late for the interest of this design. So observably did providence give new checks to this undertakeing, and the Adventures therein.

While our country men abode in Caledonia they buried near 300 men, as they reported, so that this place proved to our people first and last a *Kibroth-Hataavah*; and of these that survived, the greater part of them were sick and weak, some of them were so very low, that they died upon the shore as they were carrying them to the boats, and others of them expired in the boats, before they could get them aboard the ships. It was no wonder therefore

therefore, if many of them died at sea. The time our men stayed in Caledonia was four months and about 12 days. The rainy season was begun when we took a long farewell of this corner of the Lords earth, leaving the Spaniards in possession of it.

On the 11. of April in the evening 1700. Our people having now got all their surviving men aboard, and matters brought to as good a posture and preparation for sailing, as their present low and hard circumstances would allow.

They weighed anchor with much difficulty, our men being for the most part, seamen as well as landmen, very feeble and weak, endeavouring to get out of this harbour with the ships. They had much difficulty with the Rising-Sun, she being a bulky ship of about 60 Guns, and not so easy to work as the rest, and the wind being small and not very fair, so that she was once in hazard of running ashore upon the rocks next to the fort; but at length, with the help of the Spaniards, who were glad to be rid of us, as we were of them, by towing and warping some sail together, they got her out in safety before Golden Island, where she came to an Anchor in view of the Spanish fleet, on April 12 early in the morning, being Friday, This ship lost one of her Anchors in Caledonia harbour, the rest of our ships got out with less trouble.

The evening of the said day weighing anchor, we set sail altogether, steering north east, designing for Blewfields in Jamaica, as they had agreed among themselves. But when once they had got to sea, every one made the best of his way, not waiting for one another, nor studying to keep company together, so some of our fleet sailing better than others, we soon lost sight of one another, our whole fleet great and small, consisted of 7 vessels *viz.* The four ships that came together out of Scotland. mentioned before, Bailies vessel, captain Campbells sloop and an old sloop.

As

As they had been exercised with sore sickness and mortality while in Caledonia, so now when we were at sea, it much increased upon us, and no wonder it was; for the Poor sick men were sadly crouded together, especially aboard the Rising-Sun like so many Hogs in a sty, or sheep in a fold, so that their breath and noisome smell infected and poisoned one another: neither was there any thing suitable or comfortable to give to the sick and dying; the best was a little spoiled Oat-meal and water; and poorly were they attended in their sickness; and it was a most uncomfortable and dangerous work, for the poor ministers to go down and among them, and visit them in their sad and dying condition, their noisome stench being ready to choak and suffocate any; malignant fevers and fluxes, were the most common diseases, which swept away great numbers from amongst us; from aboard of one ship the Rising-Sun they would sometimes bury in the sea eight or nine in one morning, besides what died out of the other ships; and when men were taken with these diseases, they would sometimes die, like men distracted in a very sad and fearfull like manner. But this was yet more lamentable to be seen among these poor afflicted and plagued people, that for all God so afflicted them, yet they sinned still the more; were as hard and impenitent as before; would still curse and swear, when Gods hand was heavy on them, and their neighbours dying and dead about them. I remember it was the observation of the reverend Mr. Shields concerning this people, that he had conversed with many sorts of people, in several parts of the world, and had served as a minister for several years in the army in Flanders, but he never had seen or been concerned with such a company as this was, for the greatest part of them. Surely this might make the poor ministers here take up Davids Lamentation in Psalm cxx. 5. *Wo is me that I sojourn in Mesek and dwell in the tents of Kedar.*

While

While we were in our voyage toward Jamaica, captain Dallings ship turned very leaky. We had for some time lost company with the *Rising-Sun*, but by good providence he did again meet with the said ship at sea, and the people aboard of him were glad to be removed from his ship, that they might come aboard of the *Rising-Sun* for their great safety. So there were none stayed behind aboard of Dalling's ship, but the seamen with captain Dalling; but soon after his ship turned very leaky, that the seamen durst not venture to keep at sea in her any longer. So they were necessitated to run with their ship into Carthagera the nearest port to them at this time, to save themselves from perishing: and there at a low rate captain Dalling sold his ship to the Spaniards, himself at length through many dangers getting safely to Jamaica, where afterwards we did meet with him. This is now one of our ships lost since we left Caledonia.

Another of our vessels the old sloop, became also very leaky at sea; she missed the island of Jamaica, and was ship-wrecked upon the island of Camanos, which lies westward from Jamaica: the greatest part of the men aboard of her, were saved by the help of the inhabitants of that island, where some of them after died, and others of them got at length to Jamaica. This is another of our vessels lost since we came to sea.

It was a tedious, difficult and most uncomfortable passage, that we had aboard the *Rising-Sun*, on many accounts such as raging sickness, great mortality, bad unwholesome provisions, uncomfortable Company, scant and narrow winds and many dangers from without, which the Lord delivered us from. But at length on May 7 we arrived safely at Blew-fields, which is situated toward the west end of Jamaica, others of our company, as captain Millers ship captain Duncans ship, and Bailies vessel had got to Jamaica before us, only captain Campbells sloop steering

steered not our course; but as afterward we understood, went directly to New York, a far healthier climate, and from thence got safely home to Scotland.

During our voyage to Jamaica we buried many men at sea. It was reckoned that out of our several ships, there died above 250 men within the space of one month; and that, persons of all ranks, Officers and Gentlemen as well as others.

After our arrival at Jamaica, our poor people that had survived those many calamities, and had got their lives for a prey hitherto, did for the most part go ashore upon the island; and were glad to hire themselves servants to planters there, as they could meet with the offer of a master, being earnestly desirous to get out of that calamitous and most distressed condition, which they had been so long in, and were even almost consumed with.

It was a long time that our ships lay at Jamaica, near the space of three months, and during that space many of the seamen run away from and deserted our ships, more especially many of the Rising-Sun's men, which proved a great loss to her, and much disabled her for performing her voyage homewards. A sad crew of men these were, little good government was among them: sometimes they would not at all regard the commands of the Officers, but do as they pleased themselves; and what a hell was it to be in their company, who neither feared God nor regarded man.

The sickness continued still among our men here in Jamaica, and poorly were they treated and badly attended in their sickness. Many of them died in this place before we sailed hence, and that of the Seamen as well as Landmen; the intemperance of many of them here where they had opportunity to get strong liquors in Plenty, did hasten their death. It was supposed, that out of the several ships company's that came alive to Jamaica, there

died near a hundred of them, before our ships left this island.

Among others of our country men that died here in Jamaica, the reverend Mr Alexander Shields was one, he departed this life at Port-Royal in Jamaica on June 14 of a violent and malignant Fever : much lamented of all that knew his worth and parts, and had the occasion of his acquaintance. He had been heart weary and broken with this company of men, among whom he had laboured and conversed so long, with so little success ; and therefore left them and went up to Port-Royal, designing, it seems, to take passage thence homeward by the way of London. But men propose and God disposeth ; for he had now done his work, and it pleased his master here to call for him, and to put an end to his weary and troublesome pilgrimage in this spot of our Lords earth. And now he rests from labours, and his works follow him. His worth was little known or prized by the most of these he had sojourned and laboured among in the work of the Gospel, of whom they were not worthy. This stroke was an awfull frown of providence, upon that poor company which he was taken from, and had so often and affectionately exhorted, reprov'd and admonish'd ; for the righteous are taken away from the evil to come. He was decently buried by some kind and discreet English Inhabitants in Port-Royal, in the burial place near Kingstown in Jamaica, a kind country woman Isable Murray paying the expences of his funeral. He had only preached one sabbath at Port-Royal, upon that text, Hos. 14. 9. *The ways of the Lord are right*, which proved his last sermon in this world. When he was in Caledonia, he preached mostly upon that text, Acts xvii. 26. 27. *God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation*. He had a strong impression for some years before (as I have heard from some who were intimate with him) that
he

he should die about the middle of June, and so it came to pass.

There died here also in Jamaica two of our young men, Students in divinity, Mr Greg and Mr Potter : Mr James Main died here likewise, after we had left this island.

The divine providence wrought graciously in behalf of the other surviving ministers, Mr Stobo with his wife, Mr Borland, and the widow of Mr Dalglish, in that they had their lives given them for ~~for~~ a prey, in the midst of so many deaths: some of them were brought back from the gates of death; and here they were kindly received and entertained by strangers, till the Lord directed them severally by right ways, and carried them at last to places of comfort and refreshment, by a series of wonderful, gracious and well ordering providences.

About a month after we had arrived at Jamaica, we had intelligence by a Jamaica sloop come from Caledonia, that the Spaniards were continuing their abode in that place, but that they were very sickly as the Scots have been before them.

There was another Scots vessel from Dundee that had sailed to Caledonia, after our arrival at Jamaica; but they met with an unexpected disappointment, as others had done before them, finding their country men gone, and the Spaniards now possessing that place, who would not suffer their boat to land but did them no further damage; so they sailed for Jamaica, where they found our ships lying at Blew-Fields; and shortly after, not finding our vessels ready to sail, they returned in their voyage for Scotland.

On July 21st, the Rising-Sun, having by this time got all ready to sail, and preserved as many of their sea-men as they could; having also some of our landmen aboard, among whom were Mr. Stobo, one of our ministers, with his wife: their whole number, seamen and passengers being about 140 persons, weighed anchor, and set sail from Blew-

fields in Jamaica, designing home for Scotland. The rest of our ships, some of them had set sail some days before, and others of them soon after. The said ship, the Rising-Sun, steered on her course, till they came up with the gulph of Florida: And being got this length, on the 14th of August, there came upon them suddenly, a violent storm of wind, which in a few minutes carried all their masts by the board, and staved their boats, which they had left, all to pieces. By this dismal disaster, they were brought to a very forlorn condition; their ship becoming very leaky, and wanting all their masts and tackling, they were like a wreck upon the sea. However, in this extremity, making the best shift they could, with the help of a jury-mast, and what pieces of tackling they had left; with much difficulty they got up to the coast of Carolina; and on August 24th, they came to anchor before Charles-Town in Carolina, about nine miles from the harbour, before the Town, there being a barr before the harbour, that such great ships cannot get over. They were designed to take out her guns, and lading to lighten her; that so drawing less water, she might get over the barr. But poor people, they knew little, what a sad hour was speedily to overtake them, Eccl. ix. 12. *As fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as birds are caught in the snare; so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them.* By the gracious providence of God, there were fifteen of them ashore; among whom were Mr. Stobo, and his wife, before the following destruction overwhelmed this poor company, aboard the Rising-Sun.

On September 3d in the night, it pleased the holy and Sovereign God, to send down a most terrible and dreadful hurricane, that raged so fearfully and impetuously; that this ship, the Rising-Sun, was in a little time, all staved to pieces; and all the poor people that were aboard of her, were lost, and perished in the raging sea, to the number of 112 per-

persons. Here poor captain Gibson, and all the company died; and none were preserved, but those fifteen persons that were ashore, before this fatal stroke came on. The names of these fifteen preserved, as I learn from lieutenant Grahame, who was one of them, were James Byars a counsellor mentioned above; captain Urquhart; Mr. Stobo and his wife; lieutenant Graham forementioned; David Kennedy; lieutenant Durham; ensign John Murray; ensign Robert Colqhoun; William Bready; John Spence; James Dick; Alexander Hendrie; John Miker a boy, and James Pickens. These were all that were saved from this overthrow. Of them that were lost, some of their bodies were driven ashore, with some pieces of the wreck, but nothing considerable. Thus the great and costly ship the Rising-Sun, came to such a sudden and tragical end, and did here set in such a dark and dismal a cloud. This last blow, was one of the sorest and most tremendous of all the sad strokes, which have befallen this design and company concerned therein hitherto. *Quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis?*

Some time after this dreadful overthrow, I had a letter from Mr. Stobo in Carolina; giving an account of his wonderful preservation, and the circumstances of this company, that here perished, to the effect following.—I doubt not but ye have heard how narrowly I escaped the judgment that came upon the Rising-Sun; I and my wife, were scarce well gone from her, when wrath seized upon her; we were the last that came from her; and after our departure the storm came so sudden, that none could find the way to her. It was the Lord's remarkable mercy, that we were not consumed in the stroke with the rest.—They were such a rude company, that I believe Sodom never declared such impudence in sinning as they; any observant eye might see, that they were running the way they went: hell and judgment was to be seen upon them, and in them, before the time. You saw them bad,
but

but I saw them worse; their cup was full, they could hold no more; they were ripe, they must be cut down with the sickle of his wrath.—Here I lost my books and all, and have only my life for a prey, with my skin as it were in my teeth.

It is observable, that before this dreadful destruction befel this ship and company, it pleased the Holy, Alwise, and Gracious God, to remove from them all their ministers, who had successively failed in this ship, and preached to this company. First Mr. Shields was separated from their company at Jamaica, and taken away by death there, at Port-Royal, as is above related. Afterwards, Mr. Borland was directed by the wise and well ordering providence of the Lord, to leave this ship and company, while they were lying at Jamaica, and to steer his course another way. First, He took passage for Port-Royal in Jamaica; then he took passage for Boston, in New-England; and lastly, he took passage for London; and from thence, *Per varios casus, per tot discrimina*, he got safely home by land, to his own again. The Lord leading, preserving, healing, strengthening and upholding all the way. Then last of all, Mr. Stobo was remarkably and wonderfully taken from them, as a brand out of the fire, but a little before their final overthrow: Thus when once Lot was gone out of Sodom into Zoar, then without any longer delay, the Lord rained destruction from heaven, upon those cities of iniquity, Gen. xix. 29, 24.

The providence of God was very gracious to Mr. Stobo and his wife, here at Charles-Town in Carolina; in that when they were here brought ashore, poor strangers, and had lost all their furniture; it pleased the Lord, who cares for his poor strangers every where, to incline the hearts of some discreet and kind Christian people here, to befriend Mr. Stobo, and supply his wants; yea, to call him to be their minister, and give him a comfortable maintenance; for they were at present in much want and

need

need of such a minister; and so this remarkable providence, in casting Mr. Stobo at this time, and in such a manner, was both a wonderful mercy to Mr. Stobo, and a seasonable, and unexpected mercy to this kind people in Carolina; and here I suppose Mr. Stobo continues to this day, if he be yet alive.

While we were in Caledonia, I remember one of the ministers preached aboard this ship the Rising-Sun, upon that text, Numb. xxxii. 23. *Behold you have sinned against the Lord, and be sure your sins shall find you out.* And behold here, how God made good his word of threatning, which this poor company would not believe, nor regard; for now their sins found them out with a witness.

It is a great truth, that the judgments of God are often very remarkable, as in the kind and manner of them, so also sometimes in the very place of them. The Lord gives men occasion to observe sometimes their sin in their punishment, even in the very place of it, as the Lord dealt with Israel of old in the wilderness, Numb. xiv. 2, 28, 29. In the wilderness they had grievously sinned and provoked God; well says God, in this wilderness your carcases shall fall. Some good people in Scotland, that had formerly known captain Gibson forementioned, and his conversation, having understood his coming to such a sudden and awful end at Carolina, from thence took occasion to remember and reflect upon his former cruel and inhumane carriage, toward those poor prisoners, whom he transported to the same Carolina in the year 1684. And to observe how that here, in the very same place, it pleased the Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, to call him in so terrible a manner to his account. And though the judgments of the Lord be a great deep, and we are called to judge soberly and cautiously of them, yet when God's hand is lifted up so visibly and remarkably, surely we are called to regard and observe his operations,

tions; and wisely to consider his doings, Psal. lxxiv 9: How the Lord makes himself known by the judgment which he executeth; and how he deals out judgment without mercy, to them that had shewed no mercy. This ship the *Rising-Sun*, had been a vessel, in which much sin was committed; and in that same bottom, God brought many of these poor people to a sudden and lamentable end; ship and company perished altogether. Let our flesh tremble for fear of him, and let us be afraid of his judgments.

By the same hurricane at Carolina, there was another of our ships lost in Charles-Town harbour, which was captain Duncan's ship, but the men saved their lives. Captain Duncan himself, who was a discreet sober man, died at Jamaica, before his ship sailed thence; his spirit being broken by the many sad disasters which he had met with in this undertaking.

The sad hurricane did also a great deal of damage to the country of Carolina, destroying their corn and rice; burying it in the ground; breaking down the trees; overthrowing their houses. Their were also several other ships lost by this hurricane, that were lying in this harbour, and several of the men aboard of them lost.

Another of our ships called the *Company's-Hope*, captain Millar commander, was also lost in her voyage from Jamaica; being cast away upon the rocks called *Colorados*, on the west end of Cuba. But the men aboard this vessel, saved themselves by their boats, some going ashore upon Cuba, and betaking themselves to the Spaniards, and others of them returning to Jamaica. Captain Veatch one of our counsellors sailed passenger in this vessel; but he died at sea before the shipwreck of the vessel: He was a sober, discreet and prudent man, but broken with the many crosses and burdens he met with in this undertaking.

Bailies vessel and captain Campbel's sloop, did both get home to Scotland, which are all of our
fleet

fleet that came from Caledonia, that were preserv-
ed from ruin.

The four ships that sailed together out of Scot-
land, being all lost, and the men most part dead.

I shall here remember the names of some of our
country-men that deceased since we came from Scot-
land, some by sea, and others by land.

Mr Alexr. Dalgleish,
his maid and child
Capt. Wallace
Ensign Kinaird
Capt. Ramsay
William Masterton
Mr Jefferies Engineer
Mr Thomas Greg
Mr John Muir
Laird of Dunlop
Mr Andrew Stuart, bro-
ther to the Earl of
of Galloway
Capt. Kerr
Sir Alexr. Kinard
James Bowdon
Ensign Bailie
Ensign John Innies
Ninian Warden
Lieut. Alexr. Ramsay
Ensign Arthur
Capt. Montgomery
Capt. Gibson counsel.
Stuart of Minto
Mr Johnston his Wife
and Son
Christopher Strong
James Bowton
John Gawie
Mr John Potter
Lieut. Kerr
Samuel Fulerton

Claud Moor
Alex. Hamilton
Ensign Hugh Scott
Alexr. Campbel
John Brown
Lord Mungo Murray
Nathan Maxwell
Maj. Lindsay C.
Robert Alston
Michael Shields
James Bowers
Mr James Main
Capt. Murray
William Taylor
Capt. John Bailie
Capt. Bain
Ensign John Young
Mr Alexr. Shields
Capt. M^cIntosh
Major Ramsay
Capt. Duncan
Capt. Veatch Conf.
Thomas Miller Surg.
John Bailie Surgeon
Mr. M^cNiel
William Lamb
Mr Colvil
William Cunningham
Boatswain of the Ris-
ing-Sun, and his Son
a little boy.

From all these preceding accounts, we may very near compute, that since the first beginning of this design to settle a Colony in Caledonia, in America, until that last dreadful blow upon the Rising-Sun, and her company at Carolina, our nation has lost near two thousand men in this undertaking, by sea and land together. So expensive and costly a bargain hath this project been, as to the loss of many men's lives, besides the expence and loss of a vast treasure bestowed thereupon.

Tantæ molis erat Dariensem colere terram,

So costly and so dear was this design.

To plant a Colony in Darien.

So many and so calamitous were the disasters that beset this design and company concerned therein : From all which we may draw some observations, and make some reflections for our instruction ; out of the eater we may fetch forth meat, and out of the strong we may draw out sweetness.

1. From all that hath befallen this undertaking and company, it is sadly evident and plain, that he that runs may read it, how a holy and just God has eminently appeared against, counteracted, and frowned upon all the steps of it, from the first to the last, and upon them that were concerned therein : And these sad blows and frowns, reach home to our nation also, with a sad aspect upon them, speaking forth the Lord's anger, and call for humiliation from all. Surely God is angry with us, and has turned a deaf ear to our prayers ; the cry of our sins, hath outdone the cry of our prayers ; and hath extorted so many awful instances of the holy severity of a jealous God against us. That clause in the Commission's printed letter, page 15, 16. has had a sad and true accomplishment, upon the persons employed in this undertaking.—If you forsake him, he will forsake you ; and all your forward expectations and blooming hopes, shall be blasted and wither, and your Colony laid desolate ; your names
instead

instead of honour and renown, shall be branded with infamy, hissing and scorn; and your blessings turned into curses, and the Lord shall pluck you up, and not plant you, and shall separate you unto evil, Deut. xxix. 21. after he had said, he would do you good.

2. But some may say, what meaneth all the heat of this great anger? why hath the Holy Ghost walked so contrary to us? Is it not because we have walked contrary to him? Lev. xxvi. 23, 24. *And did cast his precepts behind our backs.* We did not honour him in our design and way; but many ways dishonoured, contemned, and rebelled against him. Therefore he hath exposed us to contempt and reproach among strangers: He hath watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us: He has troubled us in his wrath, and vexed us in his sore displeasure; and hath followed us with one stroke after another; and broken us with breach upon breach. These that had escaped the fear, he has made them to fall into the pit; and they that had got out of the pit, he hath made them to be taken in the snare, Isa. xxiv. 17, 18. *His anger hath not turned away from us, till it hath consumed the most of us:* They who had got out of one fire, another fire hath devoured them, Ezek. xv. 7. *Surely the Lord hath made our sins to find us out with a witness,* Numb. xxxii. 23.

3. That the sins of a professing people outwardly in covenant with God, and enjoying the means of grace and calls to repentance; when still they continue rebellious, obstinate, and stiff-necked; will sooner or latter, bring down upon them, the severest of judgments, Amos iii. 2. *You only have I known of all the families of the earth; and therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.* God will bear long with many things in another people, which which he will not let pass, without severe, and more speedy rebukes, upon a professing, but impenitent and incorrigible people.

4. That all the rods and judgments of God, yea mercies and deliverances too, toward stubborn and impenitent sinners, will not of themselves alone, humble and reform sinners, make them cease to do evil, and learn to do well; unless sovereign and special grace concur, and join in together with the same. Oh! How visible and remarkable was this, in this poor company, who notwithstanding they were so plagued and smitten of God, yet they rebelled still, they sinned yet more. Yea many times did he deliver them; but still they dealt proudly, were unthankful, and hearkened not to his commands: the goodness and patience of God did not lead them to repentance.

5. It is an awful demonstration of the Lord's anger against men, when he infatuates their counsels, suffers them to take wrong steps and measures. *Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius*, and when he leaves them to trust in the arm of flesh, and their own carnal policy; so that they look away from the holy One of Israel; and when he removes useful instruments, and permits worse to be employed, and continue in their stead.

6. When men are big, and puffed up with lofty hopes and high expectations from earthly things, how promising like soever they be; boast and confide in their own worldly wisdom and strength, their projects and measures; it is just with God to blast them therein, and make them to see themselves but men; their wisdom to be but foolishness, and to be ashamed of their vain confidences. Hereby God teacheth us to trust flesh and the world less, and and to look unto God more, and to have our hopes and expectations from the world, mean and low, and to make God our only glory and confidence. O the great vanity; emptiness and uncertainty of all worldly things, and hopeful like projects here below. Trust not in sublunary things, nor expect happiness therefrom, Jer. xvii. 5. Earthly happiness

ness will never answer full measure to man's desire. May the many sad disasters and surprising disappointments, which attended this affair of Caledonia, teach us to moderate our desires and expectations from earthly things; not to seek them over eagerly, tho' they may seem never so advantageous and promising-like; nor to be overgrieved or disquieted for the loss and defeating of our hopes about the same, considering the great uncertainty of the sequel and event of all human affairs. And may the same experiment teach also our people at home, to value and esteem more highly, the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus, and the blessings thereof; the merchandize whereof is better than the merchandize of silver, and the gain thereof greater, than all the fine gold in the Indies. When outward things fail and miscarry, learn we more highly to prize, and earnestly to seek after the true riches, that will never fail, and no man can rob us of.

7. If one sinner destroy much good, Eccl. ix. 18. much more will many sinners surely do it. What wonder is it, if great and hopeful like designs miscarry, when unskilful and unfaithful instruments are employed and entrusted with the management thereof! they that send a message by the hands of fools, cut off the feet and drink damage, Prov. xxvi.

6. Our countrymen at home have sad and too late experience hereof: great designs had need to be well founded and framed, and wisely managed and carried on. All places in America are not alike fit to plant Colonies in, neither are all men fit to be entrusted with such a work.

8. In common judgments and calamities, the holy and sovereign God sometimes sees it meet, to suffer even several of his dear servants and precious ones, to fall and be carried off the stage thereby: his judgments are a great depth, but it is in mercy to his own people, die when, or where, or in what manner it pleaseth God: they are taken away from the

the evil to come, and enter into peace : but it prognosticates no good to that people (especially if impenitent and unthankful,) from whom they are removed, but rather evil and fear of future wrath and approaching judgments.

9. The great governour of the world in common and epidemical judgments upon poor sinful men, yet remembers mercy in the midst of deserved wrath and anger, and does not make a full end ; but spares some to be monuments of his rich mercy, and distinguishing and sparing goodness, that they may tell of all his wondrous works, and sound forth his praises. Surely then, these persons who have got their life for a prey, and have escaped these many and various destructions that their eyes have seen, and which they have in a great measure been tried by, and very narrowly escaped, are under deep obligations to remember all the way, which the Lord led them through the wilderness and through the sea, and how he lifted up his hand for their deliverance, and to sing of the mercies of the Lord, Psal. lxxxix. 1. to sing of mercy and judgment, Psal. 101. 1. and to pay their vows to the most High, Psal. 1. 14. while they have a day to live in the world.

How observably and wonderfully does God sometimes guide his people, and lead them by ruining disasters : he leads the blind in a way that they know not, and by a right way ; and pulls them as a brand out of the burning ; and orders those providences and means of their preservation, the design whereof they little understood at the time. It is good for God's people, that they and all their concerns and motions, are in the Lord's hand, and not in their own : he is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working. *Peregrini Deo Curæ.*

10. Some of these poor people concerned in these many changes, disasters, hardships and calamities, have cause to celebrate the praises of the Lord, that as their burdens and trials were many and heavy ; so
the

the most gracious and everbleſſed Lord gave them a back for the burden; and as their day was, ſo he made their ſtrength to be; in the mount the Lord was ſeen, and in the day when they cried unto him in trouble, he comforted them, and ſaid to them fear not: Yea prevented them with his mercy; in the valley of Achor (trouble) he gave them a door of hope, and made them to ſee that the moſt deplorable and ſeemingly deſperate eſtate of God's people, is capable of comfort, and may in God's due time be changed into a proſperous condition. God is a juſt, holy, all-wiſe, all-ſufficient, covenant-keeping, and infinitely gracious God to his own remnant, wherever they be; and is never at a loſs to be, and do for them: let their caſe be never ſo deſperate-like, yet they may ſtill encourage themſelves in the Lord their God. Faith in God, prayer unto him, patient waiting upon him and keeping his way, are ſtill the beſt, ſafeſt, ſureſt and moſt comfortable courſe, for the people of God in all their changes and tentations in this troubleſome world; ſo that though they be as ſorrowful outwardly, yet they are always rejoicing in the Lord, in whom they have peace.

11. God's government of things here below, is often myſterious and dark for the preſent, but always juſt, holy, wiſe, and gracious to his own people in the end. Let us not then go about to judge or quarrel God in his providences, but rather where we cannot comprehend him, let us reverently adore him, ſaying *Righteous art thou, O Lord, who haſt judged thus. For though clouds and darkneſs are round about him, yet righteouſneſs and judgment are the habitation of his throne*, Pſal. xcv. 2. And let us believe that what we ſee not, and know not now, he will make us to ſee and know hereafter, and in the end to ſay, he hath done all things well; Even our breakings, and loſſes, and diſappointments, have tended to our gain and advantage, *Periſſem niſi periſſem*. Who knows what good the Lord may in the
iſſue

issue bring forth out of all these dismal and breaking providences in favours of our nation? Said Joseph to his brethren, Gen. l. 20. *You thought evil against me, but God meant it for good.* We are prone to misconstrue the providences of God, when they do not suit our present carnal desires and expectations, and to think and say, all these things are against us; when in the mean time, the wisdom of God may be ordering and disposing them for our greater advantage. We ordinarily look only at present things, but God looks to the end of things and wisely orders and over rules all events in his own time and way, to the best ends. Remember the story of Joseph, and see how God made all the cross-like providences and unjust usages which he met with to contribute directly, to his future advancement and glory, and to the preservation of his father's family. *De operibus Dei ante quintum actum, non est judicandum, Isa. xxviii. 29.*

12. When God's judgments are abroad in the world, he expects and calls that the inhabitants of the earth will learn righteousness, (Isa. xxvi. 9.) and more especially, those who are more nearly and immediately concerned therein. O that our nation of Scotland may consider and lay to heart, the voice of God toward them, by such awful and dismal frowns and rebukes of his providence against them, and their undertakings both at home and abroad. Surely his controversy was not only against that poor company, sent abroad into the wilderness; but is also with our people at home, who employed and sent them, as is evident by God's breaking their works, and staining the pride of their glory, and making them to be ashamed of their vain confidences. Certainly then, God calls our nation to consider their ways, as he called them of old, in Hag. i. 7, 9. *Thus saith the Lord, ye looked for much, and lo, it came to little, therefore consider your ways; that so we may see our sins and provocations, the grounds of contending with us,*

us, be deeply humbled and mourn for them, and repent and reform. Think not that these poor people who have fallen abroad in the wilderness, and in the sea, were sinners above all them that live still in Scotland. Alas! Is it not matter of sad lamentation, that there are still vast numbers of all ranks yet behind, as bad as they, who in a land of uprightness, will still do wickedly, and will not behold the majesty of the Lord; who sin with an high hand, against all warnings, much light and much love; who mock at religion and godliness, despise the gospel, and turn the grace of God into wantonness. Say not then, we are better than they, or that those men were sinners above all them that dwell in Scotland, for our Lord tells us, Luke xiii. 3, 5. *That except we repent, we shall all likewise perish.* Have our poor country-men abroad, met with such things? And do we think to go altogether unpunished. May we not suppose that a holy God has set them up as beacons and warning pieces to us, that we may see, what we may justly expect, if we do not betimes with holy fear, repent and turn and learn righteousness. O let us consider God's anger against them, his smiting them with plague upon plague, and wherefore was he wroth with them? Was it not because they had sinned. Learn we then instruction from their being made such an example, *Lege historiam ne fias historia.*

Who can perusing this, but be dismayed, God's awful judgments should make us afraid.

Caledonia hath been a very losing as well as expensive bargain, to most persons that have been concerned therein, whether at home or abroad. Pity that we should be every way losers. To make some amends for which losses, and to give some relief and ease to our complaints, and obviate our murmurings and discontents, and to let us see what profit and advantage we may reap, even out of the ruins of Caledonia, is the main design of these memoirs and observations

servations thereupon: Which if they be duly weighed and considered without prejudice, with a single eye and a Christian aim: it is hoped the losers will have cause to say with David, *It is good for them that they have been afflicted*; out of their disappointments and breakings, there hath sprung forth much advantage, and through mercy, what they have lost is not all lost; for their worldly loss hath turned to their spiritual gain and wisdom, and by such convincing arguments of the vanity, uncertainty and deceitful nature of all creature comforts and expectations, they have learned more to realize and live upon divine immutable all-sufficiency, to secure to themselves better and more abiding riches, and to chuse God's testimonies for their heritage for ever, and make them the rejoicing of their heart.

To conclude these memoirs and observations upon the Caledonian affairs, it may perhaps be not improper nor unuseful for the composing and regulating the unquiet motions and undue thoughts of our spirits, through the many cross providences that have attended this undertaking, to insert here this following relation.

There was a Hermit who was vexed with blasphemous injections about the wisdom and justice of divine providence: An angel in human shape appears to him, and invites him to travel with him, that he might see the hidden judgments of God. The first night they lodged at the house of a man who kindly entertained them: the angel took away a valuable cup from their host, at their going away in the morning; and bestowed this cup upon a very wicked man, with whom they lodged the second night. The third night, they were most lovingly treated at the house of a very godly man, from whom when they went in the morning: the angel meeting a servant of his, threw him over a bridge into the water, where he was drowned. And in the fourth night, being in like manner most courteously entertained

rained at the house of a very godly man, the angel before the morning, did unaccountably kill this godly man's only child. The companion of the journey being wonderfully offended at these things, would have left his guardian: But the angel then thus addressed him; Understand now (says he) the secret judgments of God; the first man that entertained us, did inordinately affect that cup, which I took from him, it was for the advantage of his inward man that I took it away; and I gave it unto the wicked man, as the present reward of his good works, which is all the reward that he is like to have. As for our third host, the servant which I slew, had formerly a bloody design to have killed his master; but now you see, I have saved the life of the master, and prevented something of growth unto the eternal punishment of the murderer. As for our fourth host, before that child was born unto him, he was a very liberal and bountiful person, and did abundance of good with his estate: But when he saw that he was like to leave such an heir; he grew covetous, wherefore the soul of the infant is translated into paradise, but the occasion of sin, is you see mercifully taken away from the parent. Psalm cxix. 137. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments.* Psalm cxlv. 17. *The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works.* Deut. xxxi. 4. *He is a rock, his work is perfect, for all his ways are judgment, a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.*

By way of appendix here, we may briefly from these preceeding accounts, remark some manifest disadvantages and insuperable difficulties, that our settlement in Darien was exposed to and attended with.

1. Our settlement in Darien was in the very bosom of our Spanish enemies, and too near bordering upon their plantations round about us on all hands, except the North, viz. There was Carthagena, a powerful settlement of theirs to the Eastward; there was Portobel and Panama to the Westward; and

Sancta-maria to the Southward; all within sixty leagues of us, and some of them at much less distance: From which they could in a few days bring considerable forces against us, and work our ruin, and nip our colony in the bud. This was a very considerable and manifest disadvantage, that our Colony was exposed to, in its first settling here. We sat down beside ill neighbours, and those too many and too powerful for us; and the Spaniards declared that so long as their kingdom had any ability, they would never suffer a Colony of strangers to settle there, so near their doors, to the undermining of their trade: therefore I heard it declared by some understanding merchants in America, that unless we could be masters of the sea upon this coast, and keep up a power here superior to that of Spain, we could never expect to keep that place.

2. Our settlement in Darien, was in a very sickly and unwholsome climate as is marked above; therefore the Spaniards deserted it long ago; and could our people of a far more northerly latitude than Spain is, expect here long to thrive and prosper? This consideration alone, would soon have made our people weary of it, as a place too hot for them, too costly and chargeable to maintain.

3. Our people both at home and those sent abroad to the Colony, were but raw and unskillful, most of them, in matters relating to the planting of a Colony in the West Indies. Their constitution, tempers, experience and education, did ill suit with this undertaking.

4. The government of this Colony being committed to many hands conjunctly and not mainly entrusted to the care and management of one eminent, skillful and well qualified person, as was above noted, had also its effects, upon the ill success and breaking of this design.

5. The place of our Harbour and Fort here, was ill chosen and fixed upon, it being so difficult and dan-

dangerous getting out of it, for a great part of the year : besides it was near half a mile distant from good water.

6. Our neighbours at home and their plantations abroad, some of them, looked upon our settlement and undertaking, with a jealous and evil eye ; and the effects of this, proved also disadvantageous, to the success of our Colony ; for how were we able to stand before such envy ? especially when alone, and left to our own single strength.

7. This place of our settlement lay very remote from our native country of Scotland : it was a long voyage between them ; and then we could expect but seldom supplies of provision, but what must come from Scotland. This was no small discouragement to our Colony. As our provisions are none of the best for transportation to the West Indies, so they must needs be much damnified before they could arrive at Darien ; and there was great hazard also of their coming too late, as it fared with them of the first Colony.

Now, if any person shall think fit to censure some of these forementioned difficulties and impediments, in the way of this Colony's thriving here ; yet let him view and consider them all jointly, and then pass sentence ; whether our Colony in Darien could prosper.

Non noceant quamvis singula, juncta nocent.



NO wonder then, our infant Colony
In Darien, could not long thriving be,
By such ill neighbours, in a spot of earth
Beset with griefs, and daily views of death.
Remote from friends, the objects of envy
To many, who did wish we here might die.

Our

Our single strength, but feeble to support us,
 Our skill in such affairs, small to direct us.
 Besides an higher cause of our distresses,
 God's wrath against us, for our great trespasses :
 Then strange not that our new plantation
 Soon died, and came to desolation.



A LETTER written by the Reverend Mr.
 FRANCIS BORLAND to his PARISHIONERS.

Boston, New-England, 19th Nov. 1780.

MY dear friends and beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ, you shall know that, through the tender and sparing mercies of our good and gracious God, I am yet in the land of the living, and restored to pretty comfortable health, since I came from Jamaica. I wrote a letter to you, when I was in Jamaica; and also I wrote to you when I was in Caledonia. I was sick in both these places; but the Lord had mercy upon me, and raised me up again when many did fall around me. Many salvations and deliverances have I met with since I parted with you; and now having obtained help of God, I continue unto this day. I sailed from Jamaica, August 10th, and arrived safely here September, 19th. It was the Lord's great mercy to me, that I was directed to come this way; for the biggest of all our ships called the Rising-Sun was cast away and lost upon the coast of Carolina, and the most part of the people that were on board of her died there. I hope I have had an interest in your prayers. I desire that you may still earnestly strive with God in prayer

prayer for me; that God who hath preserved me hitherto, may still keep me, and in his own good time restore me unto you again, in peace and with a blessing; for I long to see you again, that, if it be the Lord's will, I may yet serve Christ in the work of the gospel among you, and there pay my vows among you; and that we may magnify the Lord, and exalt his name together. I care not now to sail in the winter, sailing being then dangerous, and my health being much impaired by the cold. But if the Lord shall see good to spare me; I design, if the Lord will, to set forth in my voyage home-ward about the spring of the year. And may the Lord direct and prosper my way unto you, as he hath hitherto performed all things for me. I hope the Presbytery are careful to supply you with the ordinances of the gospel now in my absence according to their promise: And I hope you will be as careful and conscientious in waiting upon the ordinances of the gospel the means of your edification and salvation. My dear friends, mind and know the things of your peace in this your day. Make sure your interest in Christ. As you have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him. Be exemplary before one another. Walk in love, unity and peace among yourselves. Study not only to have a form of godliness, but also the power thereof. Neglect not prayer in your families; and in learning to acquaint yourselves with God in Christ Jesus, know that godliness is great gain, and without holiness no man can see the Lord. I can tell you from experience, that godliness is profitable in all things: that the Lord is good, and his ways are right, and he is a buckler to them that walk uprightly, and put their trust in him. He is a prayer hearing God. Acquaint yourselves with the life of faith upon the promises of God in Christ Jesus, both respecting this life, and that which is to come. True godliness will yield you comfort and support under all your crosses and wants and afflictions whatsoever. God will not be wanting

wanting unto you, if ye be not wanting in your duty toward him. Nay, my friends, hear him that is now speaking unto you from afar. Oh, see that all sin and ungodliness be discountenanced and abhorred among you. Look like people professing godliness, and hoping for the life and immortality by Christ Jesus. So commending you all to the riches of the grace of God in Christ Jesus that is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified, with my love and best wishes for you all, I remain, dear friends;

Your souls well-wisher and servant in the work of the gospel,

FRANCIS BORLAND.

THE END.